

**AN ESSENTIAL LINK IN A VAST CHAIN: NEW ENGLAND AND THE  
WEST INDIES, 1700-1775**

by

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Eric Kimball, PhD

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This dissertation will show that although comparatively few slaves lived and worked in colonial New England, slavery was essential to the economic growth of all four colonies in the region. Until the American Revolution, New Englanders depended on the slave labor plantation regimes of the West Indies to purchase their exports. Despite scholarly consensus on the importance of the West Indian trade for New England's economic growth, both the details and the consequences of this relationship for New England's history remain unexplored until now. Drawing heavily on customs records, colonial newspapers, merchant accounts, diaries, colony records, and logbooks, this dissertation reveals the essential "links" forged between free and enslaved laborers from Boston to Barbados.

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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

On May 14, 1774, John Adams privately wrote that Boston's "commerce has been an essential link in a vast chain, which has made New England what it is, the southern provinces what they are, and the African trade what that is, to say no more."<sup>1</sup> Adams' suggestive framework identified important economic linkages across the Atlantic world, especially to his fellow Bostonians. Four days later, on May 18 the Boston Town Committee made Adams' phrase public and, with some modifications, part of their official communication to England registering the town's displeasure at the recently passed Port Bill, which mandated the cessation of all trade the following month in June, 1774.<sup>2</sup> They voted unanimously to convey to Great Britain "that the Trade of the Town of Boston has been an essential Link in that vast Chain of Commerce, which in the Course of a few Ages, has raised New England to be what it is, the Southern Provinces to be what they are, the West India Islands to their Wealth &, in One Word, the British Empire, to that height of Opulence, Power, Pride & Splendor at which it now stands."<sup>3</sup> This passage was printed verbatim in every major New England newspaper within a quick two-week succession.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> John Adams to William Woodfall, May 14, 1774, in *The Works of John Adams*, Volume IX, by Charles Francis Adams, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1854), 338.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Middlekdauff, *The Glorious Cause, The American Revolution, 1763-1789* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 229-231.

<sup>3</sup> May 18, 1774, Boston Town Records, *A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, Containing the Boston Town Records, 1770 Through 1777* (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1887), 175. Notice the glaring omission of the "African trade" that was part of Adams' letter.

<sup>4</sup> It appeared, chronologically, in the following newspapers: *Massachusetts Spy*, May 19, 1774; *Connecticut Courant*, May 19, 1774; *Providence Gazette*, May 21, 1774; *Boston Evening Post*, May 23, 1774; *Essex Journal*,

What originally applied to Boston also characterized maritime New England as a whole. This dissertation follows Adams, the committee, and the newspapers to examine one of the essential links in the vast chain: New England and the West Indies.<sup>5</sup>

This dissertation will show that although comparatively few slaves lived and worked in colonial New England, slavery was essential to the economic growth of all four colonies in the region. Until the American Revolution, New Englanders depended on the slave labor plantation regimes of the West Indies to purchase their exports. Despite scholarly consensus on the importance of the West Indian trade for New England's economic growth, both the details and the consequences of this relationship for New England's history remain unexplored until now. Drawing heavily on customs records, colonial newspapers, merchant accounts, diaries, colony records, and logbooks, this dissertation reveals the essential "links" forged between free and enslaved laborers from Boston to Barbados.

The first six chapters of the dissertation trace the history of trading patterns between New England and the West Indies. All four colonies are examined - Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire - and all six customs areas within them are analyzed. Two colonies had multiple ports which were designated as separate customs areas. Connecticut had New Haven and New London while Massachusetts had Boston, the combined area of Salem and Marblehead, and Falmouth, in the Province of Maine, and are each treated separately in a distinct chapter in the dissertation. This dissertation hereby follows the organizational framework established by the British state through its customs office and analyzing each district allows for a more sophisticated understanding of the export patterns. A broad New England approach

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May 25, 1774; *Norwich Packet*, May 26, 1774; *New London Gazette*, May 27, 1774; *New Hampshire Gazette*, May 27, 1774.

<sup>5</sup> Throughout the dissertation I use both "the West Indies," as contemporaries in the colonial era did, and the modern, post-colonial designation, the "Caribbean."

challenges existing regional surveys which frequently emphasize a monolithic Massachusetts, implicitly suggesting this functioned as “New England writ large” in terms of its export patterns, showing that this view hides the complexity of the Bay colony.<sup>6</sup>

Even as scholars increasingly acknowledge the strength and importance of economic connections between the two regions no single study of this topic examining all of New England exists.<sup>7</sup> The dissertation fills that need. The pages that follow provide a quantitative assessment of the relationship between New England and the plantation system of the West Indies comparing the value of exports to that region to those of the other four trading areas: Southern Europe, Great Britain, Africa, and the other colonies of British North America.

Aspects of the trade are revealed through the biographies of merchants but it is crucial to quantify the trade on a larger scale to deepen the understanding of the economic interdependence between New Englanders and West Indians. The plantation complex stretched far beyond the shores of the islands, and past the port city merchants of New England, to the farmers, fisherman, dairymaids, and lumbermen who supplied essential key elements of infrastructure that sustained the operations of the Atlantic slave economy.

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<sup>6</sup> Studies that survey New England, but barely mention the other three colonies – or even the differences within Massachusetts, include more recent publications: Margaret Newell, “Economy,” in Daniel Vickers, ed. *A Companion to Colonial America* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 172-193; Stephen Hornsby *British Atlantic, American Frontier* (Lebanon, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2005), 73-88, 126-148; Marc Egnal, *New World Economies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 46-77; David Richardson, “Slavery, Trade and Economic Growth in Eighteenth Century New England,” in Barbara L. Solow, ed. *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 237-264; John J. McCusker and Russel R. Menard, *The Economy of British North America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 91-111; T.H. Breen and Timothy Hall, *Colonial America in an Atlantic World* (New York: Pearson, 2004). Older “classic” works also possess this characteristic: Richard Pares, *Yankees and Creoles* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1956); J.F. Shepherd and G.M. Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972), Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the Atlantic Economies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), 264-287, Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675-1740* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), especially 55-80.

<sup>7</sup> Various elements of the trade between the two areas emerge from the works footnoted above. Other, more focused studies on the colony level that discuss the West Indies are discussed in the relevant chapters in the dissertation.



This dissertation contributes to recent scholarship on slavery in “the North,” including New England.<sup>8</sup> Between 1900 and 1991 there were roughly twenty works which investigated one or another dimension of slavery in New England.<sup>9</sup> Between 1992 and 1996, an additional ten works appeared.<sup>10</sup> Since then there has been a wide array of investigations, some in the formal academic tradition, while others are cross-over studies, including public history events, newspaper special reports that have probed the importance of slavery for the history of both Connecticut and Rhode Island,<sup>11</sup> Brown University’s Slavery and Justice Committee,<sup>12</sup> and a major documentary film: “Traces of the Trade,” by Katrina Browne, about the history of the slave trading DeWolfe family.<sup>13</sup> In short, new works from diverse perspectives have begun to analyze the impact and extent of slavery in the history of the North, New England especially.

To provide the most comprehensive overview possible I have drawn on a variety of sources. However, at the core of the source base for this dissertation are customs records, which are utilized to ascertain figures for voyages, tonnage, and cargoes. In particular, I have drawn upon the “Inspector General’s Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America,

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<sup>8</sup> Placing New England within this larger geographical and historical category of “the North,” is a standard feature found in slavery studies. See the entry, “United States: The North,” by Jean R. Soderlund, in *A Historical Guide to World Slavery*, eds. Seymour Drescher and Stanley L. Engerman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 398-400. Tellingly, the authoritative slavery bibliographies produced under the direction of Joseph Miller, listed in the next footnote, combine New England and the Middle Colonies under one heading.

<sup>9</sup> This included works whose chronological focus extended beyond the colonial era. This is my rough count drawing from the listings in *Slavery and Slaving in World History, A Bibliography, Volume I, 1900-1991*, Joseph C. Miller, editor (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), 88-94, supplemented with a few works not listed from the nineteenth century.

<sup>10</sup> *Slavery and Slaving in World History, A Bibliography, Volume II, 1992-1996*, Joseph C. Miller, editor (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), 88-94.

<sup>11</sup> Anne Farrow, Joel Lang, Jenifer Frank, “Complicity: How Connecticut Chained Itself to Slavery,” *Northeast*, September 29, 2002. The articles in this served as the basis for the subsequent book by the three authors which included Connecticut in a wider examination of the “North”: *Complicity, How the North Promoted, Prolonged, and Profited from Slavery* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2005). The editors of the *Providence Journal* launched a similar series investigating Rhode Island: “The Unrighteous Traffick, Rhode Island’s Slave History,” *Providence Journal*, March 12-17, 19, 2006.

<sup>12</sup> Brown University, *Brown University Report on Slavery and Justice* (2007) [http://www.brown.edu/Research/Slavery\\_Justice/](http://www.brown.edu/Research/Slavery_Justice/).

<sup>13</sup> *Traces of the Trade: A Story from the Deep North*. Dir. Katrina Browne (2008).

1768-1772,”<sup>14</sup> which presents the most complete, most comparative - and indeed - the only listing for all of New England in the colonial era. The information in this source lists ships and tonnage legally entering and clearing ports from January 5, 1768 through January 5, 1773. It also lists commodities imported and exported, by port, under five categories: “Great Britain and Ireland, Southern Europe and the Wine Islands, the British and Foreign West Indies, Africa,” and “the Coastal Trade.” There were no values provided for commodities except in rare cases for very small “sundries.”

To complement the macro-level “Inspector General’s Customs Ledger,” I have utilized several other micro-level colony customs records. These documents, referred to as the Naval Office Shipping Lists, were kept by the customs officer of a particular port, recording ships, tonnage, and cargoes, but not their respective monetary values. For New England, these lists are only available for New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and only for certain years.<sup>15</sup> I have made use of both lists in providing additional data on trade for the pre-1768 era, building on existing scholarly works which have generated useful summaries and presenting my own original estimates. For example, in the case of New Hampshire, this includes a “new discovery.” This dissertation is the first ever to use the “Portsmouth Port Records, 1770-1775” collection housed in the Portsmouth Athenaeum, in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. This is essentially a “lost” set of customs records which I have used in the New Hampshire chapter to provide additional data on outward clearances, tonnage, and destinations.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

<sup>15</sup> In this regard the Naval Office Shipping Lists (often abbreviated NOSL) for New England are not unique. We have only select years available for certain ports throughout the colonial period. (This is also true for the early Republic era in the United States).

<sup>16</sup> I say lost because it is known only to those who have visited the Portsmouth Athenaeum. The Portsmouth Port Records do not appear on any of the extant lists of available customs records in various archives in the United States or Great Britain.

Utilizing these sources, this dissertation builds and expands upon the earlier, foundational export trade data assembled and published by James Shepherd.<sup>17</sup> Initially working alone he provided overseas trade data for the four New England colonies, combining all three Massachusetts ports into a single unit.<sup>18</sup> Shepherd then worked in conjunction with Gary M. Walton to produce *Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America*.<sup>19</sup> Forty years later, this work is still the starting point for historians who seek, cite, or discuss trade in colonial British North America.<sup>20</sup> This dissertation adds to and complicates the data and conclusions presented by Shepherd and Walton.

The dissertation expands the current estimates of export value, which were derived by using a select group of fifteen commodities in the customs records, to one which uses the vast majority of the listed commodities in the “Inspector General’s Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports.” This, in turn, required assembling price data for all of these new commodities. Some

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<sup>17</sup> James F. Shepherd, *Commodity Exports from the British North American Colonies to Overseas Areas, 1768-1772: Magnitudes and Patterns of Trade*, Paper No. 258 – October, 1969, Institute for Research in the Behavioral, Economic and Management Sciences (Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University, 1969).

<sup>18</sup> Shepherd did not elaborate as to his reasoning.

<sup>19</sup> James M. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972). The book’s evidentiary base on exports, however, drew from Shepherd’s earlier solo work cited above. Six years later he and Walton utilized this trade data to produce a short textbook summarizing their findings: *The Economic Rise of Early America* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1975).

<sup>20</sup> Shepherd and Walton’s work is ubiquitous. However, for representative examples please see the following: Bruce C. Daniels, “Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut: An Overview,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, Vol. 37, No.3 (July 1980), 429-450; Elaine Forman Crane, *A Dependent People: Newport, Rhode Island in the Revolutionary Era* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985); John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1991); David Richardson, “Slavery, Trade and Economic Growth in Eighteenth Century New England,” in Barbara L. Solow, ed. *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System* (Cambridge University Press, New York 1991), 237-264; Marc Egnal, *New World Economies: the Growth of the Thirteen Colonies and Early Canada*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Stephen Hornsby *British Atlantic, American Frontier* (University Press of New England, Lebanon, New Hampshire 2005); John McCusker, “Colonial Statistics,” in *Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to the Present*, Volume 5, Susan B. Carter, et al. eds. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

were obtained through the recent research efforts of John McCusker and Daniel Vickers.<sup>21</sup> I constructed a price series from listings gathered in the Rhode Island newspaper the *Providence Gazette*.<sup>22</sup> Using both new and more accurate pricing data, in combination with a broader commodity analysis, has led to substantial revision upward of the values presented by Shepherd.

Tabulating a full listing of all commodities exported from all four New England colonies, and all seven customs zones within them, and utilizing a new, more precise and more comprehensive price series, I embarked upon a series of interrelated inquiries which centered on one question: what was the nature and extent of trade to the West Indian plantation complex? Related questions soon emerged: how many ships, how much tonnage, what were the cargoes? What were they worth? What was the value of the West Indian trade when compared to the other export regions: Great Britain, Southern Europe, and Africa? What was the value of the coastal trade? How much of that value was derived from the re-export of West Indian commodities or their derivatives produced by enslaved African labor power? These are questions I attempt to answer in the first six chapters. Each details the considerable variation, both in terms of types of commodities and the overall monetary value in the exports.

Ports in colonies varied considerably in their engagement with the West Indian slave economies, as each chapter demonstrates. We begin in southern New England with a chapter on Rhode Island. Though this colony is most closely associated with slavery through local involvement with the slave trade, even this traffic, it is shown, was largely an extension of the West Indian trade. Using the insights of abolitionist Stephen Hopkins, who called the trade “the

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<sup>21</sup> Daniel Vickers, “‘A knowen and staple commoditie’: Codfish Prices in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1640-1775” *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Volume 124, (July 1988), 186-203, and John McCusker, “Colonial Statistics,” in *Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to the Present*, Volume 5, Susan B. Carter, et al. eds. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 5-713.

<sup>22</sup> The details on this are explained in the Rhode Island chapter Appendix 1.

first wheel of commerce” for the colony, I propose several additional “wheels of commerce” which were all highly integrated cogs in the larger machine of the plantation economy: the direct trade to the West Indies, the re-export of West Indian products, and the domestic infrastructure supporting the first two. In addition, I offer new estimations of the value of the slave trade, which was overwhelmingly oriented toward supplying slaves for the West Indian plantation complex.

Continuing in southern New England, the next chapter examines Connecticut’s exports and the two ports through which they travelled: New Haven and New London. This chapter emphasizes several key commodities produced and raised for export in support of the plantation economies: livestock, onions, and dairy products. In particular, the chapter discusses the most important of the first group: horses, which were more valuable than present estimates have suggested – and essential suppliers of energy powering the plantation complex on a day-to-day basis. This chapter also discusses dairying, the labor of unpaid women workers, the “dairymaids,” who produced much for the West Indian market. The “essential links” of the economy included whites in New England whose labor was essential, gender-specific, and usually omitted in the existing literature.

The next three chapters investigate exports from Massachusetts. The first chapter in this sequence moves to the Province of Maine, focusing on its only designated customs region – Falmouth - an area that presently we know the least about in terms of exports.<sup>23</sup> Here I offer the first-ever summary of ship clearances, tonnages, cargoes and their values from the area. The results reveal that timber was the main export but that Falmouth was the least integrated into the West Indian economy and much more focused on the mast trade, a vital and strategic industry for the Imperial British Navy. Importantly, this revelation is made possible only by separating

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<sup>23</sup> Falmouth today is known as Portland, Maine.

Falmouth, Maine from an overall undifferentiated and homogenous “Massachusetts,” the dominant framework of existing literature. The third chapter examines the combined Salem and Marblehead area, highlighting the importance of fish exports for the region. I examine the two major types of fish exported, both in terms of volume and value. The first, called “merchantable” cod, was a high-quality fish sent to markets in Southern Europe while the second, deemed “refuse” or “trash” fish, was only sent to the West Indies as a food stock for slaves. Using new pricing data I also dramatically revise existing export values. This chapter, like the preceding one on Falmouth, helps to differentiate the complex export picture of colonial Massachusetts – one which has been frequently conflated with Boston, the subject of the last chapter in the sequence.

Here, in the capital of the colony and de facto capital of New England, the trading dynamics become very complicated. In essence, Bostonians utilized the coastal trade networks to obtain certain key commodities, like fish (from Salem and Marblehead), whale oil (from Nantucket), and wood products (from New Hampshire and Maine). They exchanged these in the West Indies for slave-produced commodities and then re-exported them through the coastal trade – the largest single export area, to obtain more commodities and start the cycle all over again.

From the bay colony we move north to New Hampshire and supplement the existing documentary record with new data culled from the “Portsmouth Port Records, 1770-1775.” Like Falmouth, long associated with the mast trade to England, and possessing the fewest slaves in colonial New England, this New Hampshire chapter makes clear that this colony was heavily integrated into the plantation complex of the West Indies through the primary export: wood products. Every ship made seaworthy and every barrel loaded below her decks with plantation commodities was hewed from the woods. Here the “essential links in a vast chain,” stretched

from the loggers in the forests to the sawyers working the mills to the slaves working on plantations.

After tracing the contours of the West Indian trade for the first six chapters, the final one asks, how was the centrality of the plantation complex in the history of colonial New England suppressed and obscured in favor of a narrative which stressed the religious history of Puritanism? This chapter explores the historical, ideological, and historiographical ways in which the deep, structural economic links between New England and the West Indies chronicled in the previous chapters have remained largely hidden and unexplored. My focus in this chapter shifts to the making and re-making of history and the foundation of the New England-West Indian trade in the seventeenth century. I argue that the great myth of colonial New England is that slavery was unimportant and that this myth is only possible through a denial of the Atlantic economy in which these colonists lived and worked.

Crucial to my challenge of existing frameworks are two inter-related concepts: the plantation complex and Atlantic history. Philip Curtin, creator of the phrase “the plantation complex,” and the book of the same title - used this expression to refer to the full range of people, tasks, and products involved in the production of commodities on plantations in the West Indies. In addition, his approach widens the analysis, by taking us out of the fixed, landed boundaries of the plantation, and into the extended reaches of all that sustain and promote it.<sup>24</sup> As he observed, understanding the linkages which made the success of the plantation complex possible requires an Atlantic approach, one which eschews the nation-state paradigm: “the North American segment of the plantation complex is hard to understand if it is merely seen in the

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<sup>24</sup> Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex, Essays in Atlantic History*, Second Edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), *passim*, but xi-xii, in particular sets out the framework.

context of U.S. history.”<sup>25</sup> This comment is especially apt when contemplating colonial New England.

My history begins in New England but ends with the Atlantic.<sup>26</sup> New Englanders were part of an Atlantic system with circuits linking Africa, Europe and the Americas. Taking this approach allows us to avoid the “nation-state paradigm” and better understand a broader circulation of people, goods and ideas. New Englanders themselves recognized this interconnectedness, as suggested by the words of John Adams which opened the dissertation. The dissertation reminds us of the connections between New England and the plantation complex in the Caribbean.

Yet New Englanders benefited in direct ways from the plantation complex. It allowed them to satisfy their growing and seemingly insatiable appetite for European and English imports since this branch of commerce allowed New Englanders to make payments on their debts to English creditors. These were large and growing throughout the colonial era. From the very beginnings of colonization in the seventeenth century through the outbreak of the American Revolution, New Englanders vainly searched for a suitable means of paying for British imports

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid, xiii.

<sup>26</sup> Scholarly output explicitly using an Atlantic framework has multiplied exponentially recently. Consider that in the last two full years (2006-2008) the leading journal for historians, *The American Historical Review*, has published five leading articles explicitly using this framework: Alison Games, “Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities,” *The American Historical Review*, Volume 111, Issue 3 (June 2006), 741-757; David Eltis, Philip Morgan, and David Richardson, “Agency and Diaspora in Atlantic History: Reassessing the African Contribution to Rice Cultivation in the Americas,” *The American Historical Review*, Volume 112, Number 5 (December 2007), 1329-1358; W. Jeffrey Bolster, “Putting the Ocean in Atlantic History: Maritime Communities and Marine Ecology in the Northwest Atlantic, 1500-1800,” *The American Historical Review*, Volume 113, Issue 1, (February 2008), 19-47; François Furstenberg, “The Significance of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier in Atlantic History,” *The American Historical Review*, Volume 113, Number 3, (June 2008), 647-677. Useful overviews of Atlantic history, offering a variety of approaches, include: Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000); David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds. *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History, Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005); Michael Jimenez and Marcus Rediker, “What is Atlantic History,” [http://www.marcusrediker.com/Articles/what\\_is\\_atlantic\\_history.htm](http://www.marcusrediker.com/Articles/what_is_atlantic_history.htm); and the various contributors to the “Forum: Beyond the Atlantic,” in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. LXIII, No. 4 (October 2006), 675-776.



and generated large, chronic deficits in the process. From 1697, the first year such data is available, through 1773, New Englanders never once ran a surplus.<sup>27</sup> In terms of value, New Englanders were importing far more items from Great Britain than they were exporting there. As Sir Charles Whitworth observed in 1776, from the viewpoint of Great Britain, “the excess of the exports over the imports have been constant and considerable.”<sup>28</sup> New Englanders imported a vast array of commodities, visible in both the customs records and newspaper ads.<sup>29</sup> In general, imports were dominated by clothing, metalware, hats, tea, and other assorted manufactured goods.<sup>30</sup> The need to pay for imports was not an isolated development found only among the occupants of New England’s major port cities, as several studies have demonstrated that “the flow of new consumer goods in the eighteenth century was reaching relatively isolated towns” in New England.<sup>31</sup> Colonists across the region had to find ways to pay for these imports. The

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<sup>27</sup> Sir Charles Whitworth, *State of the Trade of Great Britain in its Imports and Exports*, (London 1776), 63-64, in which the Table: “Trade of Great Britain with New England” appears. Whitworth provides yearly figures for every year between 1697 and 1773. For an extended discussion of, and adjustment to, Whitworth’s figures, which change the amounts but not their overall direction, see John McCusker, “The Current Value of English Exports,” in John McCusker, *Essays in Economic History of the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 150-164. Though ships continued to enter and clear from various New England ports in 1774 and 1775, there was some serious decline. The Boston Port Act shut down that port as of June 1, 1774 and by the mid-summer of 1775 the other New England ports ceased their mercantile overseas shipping activities with Great Britain.

<sup>28</sup> Whitworth, *State of the Trade of Great Britain in its Imports and Exports*, xlix. As the subsequent chapters in the dissertation reveal, direct trade with England varied widely within the region. Overall, however, as they will show, collectively New Englanders exported very little directly – in terms of value, back to the Imperial homeland.

<sup>29</sup> The Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK., lists a prodigious variety of goods, and any and every colonial newspaper ran ads which listed various items for sale. For a useful summary of these items, see McCusker and Menard, *Economy of British North America*, 283-287. A large literature has explored the issue of consumer goods in colonial America. For a comprehensive overview which discusses imports, and how they impacted colonists’ cultural and political life, see two landmark studies by T.H. Breen: “An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690-1776,” *Journal of British Studies*, 25 (October 1986), 467-499; and his “‘Baubles of Britain’: The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century,” *Past and Present*, No. 119, (May 1988), 73-104.

<sup>30</sup> Ralph Davis, “English Foreign Trade, 1700-1774,” *The Economic History Review*, Volume 15, No. 2, (1962), 285-303, and in particular the trade data on pages 302-303.

<sup>31</sup> Gloria L. Main and Jackson T. Main, “Economic Growth and the Standard of Living in Southern New England, 1640-1774,” *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 48, No. 1, (March 1988), 29, makes this point. Other useful studies of consumption include: Carole Shammas, “Consumer Behavior in Colonial America,” *Social Science History*, (Volume VI 1982), 67-86, and Carole Shammas, “How Sufficient was Early America?” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (Volume XIII 1982), 247-272. The articles by T.H. Breen cited above also address this issue.

surplus they ran with buyers in the West Indies – by providing them with key elements to sustain the plantation complex – allowed them to make payments against their debts.<sup>32</sup>

If New Englanders needed to pay off their debts to England, West Indian planters needed New Englanders to supply them with the vital elements parts for the plantation infrastructure. This originated because, as one West Indian planter explained: “To the sugar cane every thing is sacrificed.”<sup>33</sup> This process began in the mid-seventeenth century following the “sugar revolution”<sup>34</sup> in Barbados in the 1640s, and established a pattern that was replicated across the islands throughout the colonial era.<sup>35</sup> As “*the planters of His Majesty’s Sugar Colonies*” declared, “the Sugar Plantations in the West Indies are subject to a greater variety of contingencies than many other species of property from their necessary dependence upon external support.”<sup>36</sup> Those contingencies included “dry weather, or excess of wet weather, hurricanes, blasts, vermin,” imperial wars, earthquakes, fires, and slave revolts.<sup>37</sup> Alongside these challenges were others: “the certain charges of a sugar-work are so great, and the casualties so many; that it were no easy manner to bear up against them,” principally because “the wear of

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<sup>32</sup> This was often accomplished through the circulation and use of “bills of exchange.” For a micro-level view of how this system worked in the operations for one New England merchant, John Hancock, see W.T. Baxter, *The House of Hancock, Business in Boston, 1724-1775* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1945), 11-38.

<sup>33</sup> “Testimony of George Walker of Barbados,” March 16, 1775, in *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament Respecting North America, Volume 5: 1754-1783*, eds. R.C. Simmons and P.D.G. Thomas (White Plains, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1986), 556.

<sup>34</sup> Russell Menard has recently challenged the “sugar revolution” concept and proposed a “sugar boom” instead: “the usual argument is that sugar brought slavery and plantation agriculture to the island, by my evidence indicates that Barbados was moving down that road well before sugar emerged as the dominant crop.” See Russell Menard, *Sweet Negotiations: Sugar, Slavery, and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados*, (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2006), passim, and page 8 for the quote above. Menard makes a strong case though I still think that large-scale sugar production revolutionized the area.

<sup>35</sup> For details on this expansion, see Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery* (New York: Verso, 1997), 401-456; McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789*, 144-168; Richard Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1973); Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves, The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000; rep. 1972).

<sup>36</sup> *Substance of the evidence of the Petition, Presented by the West-India Planters and Merchants to the House of Commons* (London 1775), 4.

<sup>37</sup> The quote is from “Testimony of George Walker,” in *Proceedings and Debates*, 556.

our mills is also a continual charge.”<sup>38</sup> As the following chapters detail, New Englanders were major suppliers in sustaining the plantation works.

By focusing on the West Indian trade this dissertation attempts to rethink the importance of slavery in the development of New England – which scholars currently minimize based on the comparatively modest numbers of enslaved people who were present in that landed, terra-firma, space of New England.<sup>39</sup> Here, the dominant interpretive paradigm uses a binary formulation: “societies with slaves” and “slave societies.”<sup>40</sup> The importance of slavery for a given region, colony, or society is first and foremost based on demography: the more slaves present, the greater the importance. This dissertation argues that this framework is of limited utility when applied to colonial New England. Based on population data alone, slavery, which is to say, the number of slaves living and working in New England, was relatively small – about 2% of the total population.<sup>41</sup> Individually and regionally, slaves were present less often in New England than any of the colonies which declared independence from Great Britain in 1776.<sup>42</sup> The slave societies/societies with slaves paradigm has been recently re-introduced with vigor, and acclaim, by Ira Berlin, who borrowed this formulation from its first modern proponent: Sir Moses I.

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<sup>38</sup> [Edward Littleton] *The Groans of the Plantations* (London 1689), 17.

<sup>39</sup> The scholars are discussed below.

<sup>40</sup> This paradigm is discussed further below.

<sup>41</sup> Of a total population in 1775 of approximately 678,749 people in New England, 16,153 were African-American. Thus, the precise percentage is 2.3%. These totals are mine based on the colonial census data, which used the category “negro” rather than “slave.” While there were a few free-blacks, the vast majority were enslaved. As Joanne Pope Melish’s research concluded, “Until the 1780s the great majority of people of African descent were slaves in fact, formally classified as items of property; free Africans were rare, anomalous cases.” See Joanne Pope Melish, *Disowning Slavery, Gradual Emancipation and “Race” in New England, 1780-1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 76. For more on the issue of population figures, and the lives and struggles of both free and enslaved African-Americans, see Lorenzo Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England* (New York: Atheneum, 1969, reprint Columbia University Press, 1942); William D. Piersen, *Black Yankees: the Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), and Edgar J. McManus, *Black Bondage in the North* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1973).

<sup>42</sup> Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone, The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1998), 369-371.

Finley.<sup>43</sup> The approach is fundamentally quantitative whereby a slave society is “a society in which slaves play an important part of production and form a high population (say over 20%) of the population.”<sup>44</sup> More recently David Brion Davis, in a sweeping overview of slavery and abolition in the Atlantic, argued that a “slave society” was one “totally dependent upon slave labor, as distinct from the many societies that simply possessed slaves.”<sup>45</sup> But, there are unanswered questions operating in this paradigm – and we must ask them.

At the core of the “slave societies/societies with slaves,” framework lies an operative question: how does one measure the importance of slavery or slave labor for a given household,

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<sup>43</sup> Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone, The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1998), 7-14. Sir Moses I. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, ed. Brent D. Shaw (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1998; originally published New York, Viking Press, 1980), 135-160. For a rich historical investigation of the origin, development, and application of “slave society” as a unit of analysis, especially before its invocation by Finley, see B.W. Higman, “The Invention of Slave Society,” in *Slavery, Freedom and Gender, The Dynamics of Caribbean Society*, eds. Brian L. Moore, B.W. Higman, Carl Campbell, and Patrick Bryan (Mona: University of West Indies Press, 2003), 57-75.

<sup>44</sup> Keith Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves: Sociological Studies in Roman History*, Volume 1 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 99. Keith Bradley, who used this formulation, noted that based on this rubric only five “true slave societies,” have existed: Brazil, the Caribbean, the Southern States of the United States, Ancient Athens, and Roman Italy. Keith Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 12-16.

<sup>45</sup> Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, page 41. There are some disagreements over the precise definitions. Orlando Patterson argued that “having a large number of slaves was not sufficient to create a large-scale slave society. Genuine slave societies existed only where slaves were structurally constitutive, that is, were used to transform the preexisting social structure in some way, often economically, but...often politically or militarily.” Orlando Patterson, *Freedom, Volume 1: Freedom in the Making of Western Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), 31. Patterson added that for him, the question was not about numbers of slaves but rather, in his openly noted replication of Carl Degler’s questions, who argued, ‘the really significant question about the place of slavery in antiquity is not ‘Did slaves do most of the work’ but ‘What role did they play in the economic process?’” Patterson, pages 70-71. Though Patterson framed his critique specifically in terms of the historiographic debate surrounding slavery in ancient Greece, his insights – modified for our purposes – are important. As he observed, “While the numbers of slaves are always substantial in such a (slave) society, they need not be, indeed rarely are, the majority. *Thus, to deny the existence of such a society by arguing about the relative size of the slave population...is to miss the point.*” (italics mine.) In the British West Indian historiography Elsa V. Goveia characterized the Caribbean region as a slave society, which she defined as “the whole community based on slavery, including masters and freedmen as well as slaves.” Elsa V. Goveia, *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, 1965), vii. Another West Indian scholar, Michael Craton, openly cites Goveia in stressing that “all English Caribbean colonies were ‘slave societies’ in the sense defined by Elsa Goveia; that despite the whites’ pretensions to be a socially distinct elite, the entire social fabric was shaped by the slavery system.” Michael Craton, “Slavery and Slave Society in the British Caribbean,” in *The Slavery Reader*, edited by Gad J. Heuman, and James Walvin, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 104. Surveying slavery in ancient Greece and Rome Peter Garnsey argues “There have been slaves in many societies, but very few slave societies. In a genuine slave society (as distinct from a society with slaves or a slave-owning society), slaves are numerous, but *the crucial issue is not slave numbers, but whether slaves play a vital role in production.*” Peter Garnsey, *Ideas of Slavery from Aristotle to Augustine*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 2, italics mine.

town, colony or region? The typical answer has been to count the number of slaves living and working within a given landed area and if they reach a particular percentage (which ranges from one scholar to another, but in general seems to begin from at least 25% and move higher), then slavery is characterized as central to the workings of that society. Thus, we have a largely numerical threshold where slavery becomes “important.” But what about those who profit, not from directly owning the slaves – but either the product of their labor or in supplying the infrastructure for their labor? How should we conceptualize those individuals or groups or classes who did not own slaves directly, but helped to reproduce slavery as an institution? To put it another way, how should we frame our understanding of those who did not directly own slaves, but rather profited from those who did? This dissertation seeks to answer these questions by investigating colonial New Englanders and their integration with the slave labor regimes of the West Indies. This so-called “West Indian trade,” refers to the region where New Englanders traded but it hides the brutal working conditions of what Peter Wood calls “the slave labor camps,”<sup>46</sup> in which enslaved Africans incessantly toiled.

My alternative approach to the “slave societies/societies with slaves” paradigm suggests measuring the importance of slavery based on the circulation of commodities both produced by, and for, the Atlantic slave economy. This moves us away from the “terracentric” prism through which the importance of slavery is viewed and includes in our vision the operational realities of the plantation complex.<sup>47</sup> Luckily, several scholars – Eric Williams, Joseph Inikori, and Ronald

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<sup>46</sup> Peter Wood, “Slave Labor Camps in Early America: Overcoming Denial and Discovering the Gulag,” in Carla Gardina Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger, eds. *Inequality in Early America*, (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), 222-238.

<sup>47</sup> I’m borrowing the term “terracentric” from Marcus Rediker, but applying it in a slightly different way than his treatment. Marcus Rediker, Presentation at the International Labor Consortium, University of Pittsburgh, 2004.

Bailey - have produced guiding models with which to pursue the alternative approach outlined above.<sup>48</sup>

Using these analytical tools, the following chapters offer a comparative analysis to take a new measure of the importance of slavery, and the plantation economies, in the story of colonial New England. Its main goal is to reveal how colonial New Englanders were themselves an “essential link in a vast chain” of Atlantic slavery.

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<sup>48</sup> Though these three historians have produced many important works, the three most essential ones which have provided useful frameworks for this dissertation include: Eric Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1966; originally published University of North Carolina Press, 1944); Joseph Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England, A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), and Ronald Bailey, “Africa, the Slave Trade, and the Rise of Industrial Capitalism in Europe and the United States: A Historiographic Review,” in *American History: A Bibliographic Review* (Volume 2, 1986), 1-91. I return to the impact of Eric Williams in the last chapter.

## 2.0 “THE FIRST WHEEL OF COMMERCE:”<sup>1</sup> RHODE ISLAND, THE SLAVE TRADE AND THE WEST INDIES

Reverend Samuel Hopkins of Rhode Island declared in 1787 “This trade in the human species has been the first wheel of commerce in Newport, on which every other movement in business has chiefly depended.” “That town,” he continued “has been built up, and flourished in times past, at the expense of the blood, the liberty, and happiness of the poor Africans; and the inhabitants have lived on this, and by it have gotten most of their wealth and riches.” Hopkins knew whereof he spoke; for ever since the summer of 1769 where he began preaching at the First Congregational Church in Newport he had seen the slave ships leave there for West Africa.<sup>2</sup>

Popular and scholarly accounts of Rhode Island and slavery have followed Hopkins’ insight for many years, emphasizing the triangle trade in which Rhode Island slave traders bought slaves in West Africa, sold them in the West Indies, purchased molasses and brought it to Rhode Island to make rum, which was then sold back in West Africa for more slaves. The slave trade was central to the history of Rhode Island in the eighteenth century, and this chapter offers

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Hopkins, “The Slave Trade and Slavery,” in *The Works of Samuel Hopkins*, Volume II, (Boston 1854), 615, originally published with the title, “Essay on the AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE,” in the *Providence Gazette*, October 6 and 13, 1787, under the pseudonym “Crito.” This was not Hopkins’ first salvo against slavery or the slave trade. Earlier, in 1776, he wrote and published, “A Dialogue Concerning the Slavery of the Africans,” and dedicated it to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. For more on Hopkins, and his abolitionism, see Stanley K. Schultz, “The Making of a Reformer: The Reverend Samuel Hopkins as an Eighteenth-Century Abolitionist,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 115, No.5 (Oct. 15, 1791), 350-365.

<sup>2</sup> Schultz, “*The Making of a Reformer*,” 354. As Schultz noted, Hopkins had first-hand knowledge of slavery, owning a female slave and selling her in Great Barrington before moving to Newport.

some quantitative estimates for its monetary value. Yet the “first wheel” was larger than Hopkins or subsequent historians knew. Rhode Island merchants eagerly sold enslaved Africans, yet they also sold and traded much more. Thus, to Hopkins’ “first wheel” we add four more interrelated “wheels” of commercial activity. The “second wheel” involved the goods Rhode Islanders sold to sustain the plantation complex in the West Indies. The “third wheel” comprised Rhode Islanders brisk trade in re-exporting slave-produced West Indian goods to many of the ports of British mainland North America. The “fourth wheel” included the domestic economy of Rhode Island which supported this export activity, which included local shipbuilding, horse-raising, distilling, and candle-making industries, among others. This chapter augments the existing scholarly focus on the slave-trade – the first wheel - and demonstrates that slave-produced commodities were the mainstay of Rhode Island’s colonial exports and offers an analysis of the other four wheels, which together constituted an essential component of the colonial economy.<sup>3</sup>

The early economic development of Rhode Island shaped later developments. Though founded as a religious refuge by Roger Williams, commercial interests quickly influenced the colonial agenda of settlers.<sup>4</sup> Despite these mercantile pursuits the population was small and as late as 1698 Governor Cranston still referred to the colony as a “frontier.”<sup>5</sup> Despite “several commodious harbors within this colony” Cranston declared, “little or no navigation was carried on till about the beginning of the eighteenth century.”<sup>6</sup> By 1708 the population totaled 7,181 people and in the prior ten years increasing numbers had been involved in local shipbuilding and

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<sup>3</sup> Jay Coughtry, *The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade, 1700-1807* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, Philadelphia 1981) remains the definitive account.

<sup>4</sup> Carl Bridenbaugh, *Fat Mutton and Liberty of Conscience: Society in Rhode Island, 1636-1690* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1974), makes this point very clearly, especially in his discussion of how, “Agriculture Ushers in Commerce,” pages 93-126.

<sup>5</sup> Governor Cranston to the Board of Trade, May 8, 1698, in Volume III, p. 337 of the *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England*, Ten Volumes, ed. by John Russell Bartlett, (Providence, Rhode Island: 1856-1865), hereafter abbreviated *RCRI*.

<sup>6</sup> Report of Governor Ward to the Board of Trade, Newport, January 9, 1740, in *RCRI*, Volume 5, p.8



export activities.<sup>7</sup> In 1688, Cranston reported, there were “not above four or five vessels that did belong to this colony,” but this “gradually increased to the number of twenty nine,” by 1708.<sup>8</sup> By that year, he added, “the land being all taken up and improved in small farms,” sons lacked access to land, and “their inclinations being mostly to navigation, the greater part betake themselves that employment.”<sup>9</sup> Buzzing commercial activity was centered in Newport, which dominated maritime commerce at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Cranston concluded: “the town consists the chiefest of our navigation.” Telling, even the “two or three vessels” operating in any of the other ports were trading with Barbados. Here lay the source of Rhode Island’s “black servants” – half of whom, 220 in all, lived and worked there.

This early West Indian connection helps to explain the rise of the African-American population in Rhode Island during the early part of the eighteenth century when the African slavers operating from Rhode Island few. In 1708, Cranston wrote the Board of Trade, “the whole and only supply of negroes to this colony is from the island of Barbados.”<sup>10</sup> In 1708 only 426 “black servants” were recorded but by 1730 this had risen to 1,648 and not quite twenty years later the census of 1748-49 counted 3,077 “negroes.”<sup>11</sup> By 1755, the enslaved African-American population rose to 4,697 but by 1774 had fallen to 3,761.<sup>12</sup> Still, out of a total population of 59,678 in 1774, African-Americans accounted for over 6%, and in certain

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<sup>7</sup> This population included 426 “black servants.” Samuel Cranston, December 5, 1708, Newport, Rhode Island to the Board of Trade, in in *RCRI*, Volume IV, 1707-1740 (Providence: Knowles, Anthony & Co., 1859), 58.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>11</sup> For the 1748-1749 population figures, see the report in *RCRI*, Volume 5, 270. “Negroes” was the term used in the Census.

<sup>12</sup> The drop may not have been as dramatic as the figures suggest. Indians were included in the “negro” category in the 1755 Census, reprinted in *RCRI*, Volume V, 472, but then classified separately in the 1774 Census. I believe this accounts for the apparent drop in the African-American population.

locations, particularly the port cities of Providence and Newport, the figure was higher, reaching 9% and 13% respectfully.<sup>13</sup>

Early estimates of trade for the years 1698 -1708 revealed several of the key trade patterns which characterized Rhode Island throughout the eighteenth century: heavy traffic to and from the West Indies and the importance of re-exported West Indian commodities through the coastal trade. According to Cranston, three vessels - two sloops and one ship - had sailed from Newport, respectively, on August 10, October 19, and October 28, in the year 1700 “for the coast of Africa.” They then sailed from there “arriving safe to Barbados, where they made the disposition of their negroes.”<sup>14</sup> Yet, he stressed how these vessels were registered in Barbados, not Rhode Island. They had been outfitted for their slaving voyages in Newport— which presumably suggests that even if locals were not owners, or even crewmen, they had enough knowledge and/or skill to outfit slave ships.<sup>15</sup> As Marcus Rediker noted, “the preferred solution for most merchants” was to have a ship “built for other trades...converted to slaving,”<sup>16</sup> which likely described the situation in Rhode Island.

What is clear is that between 1698 and 1708 a steady stream of ships, brigs, and sloops were built in Rhode Island and a significant portion ventured to the West Indies: Jamaica, Barbados, Nevis, Antigua, St. Christophers, Montserrat, Surinam, and Curacao.<sup>17</sup> The “exported commodities” they carried were “lumber of all sorts, staves, heading hoops, board, plank, timber;

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<sup>13</sup> My calculations based on the 1774 Rhode Island Census, reprinted and published later as *Census of the Inhabitants of Rhode Island, 1774* (Providence: Knowles, Anthony & Co., 1858).

<sup>14</sup> Samuel Cranston, December 5, 1708, Newport, Rhode Island to the Board of Trade, in *RCRI*, Volume IV, 1707-1740 (Providence: Knowles, Anthony & Co., 1859), 55.

<sup>15</sup> Coughtry, *The Notorious Triangle*, 58.

<sup>16</sup> Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship, A Human History* (New York: Viking, 2007), 52.

<sup>17</sup> Cranston did note a few voyages to “Madeira and Fayal,” the Portuguese Islands where, in exchange for “staves, wheat, Indian corn, way and money,” Rhode Island ships were packed with “wines.” Samuel Cranston, December 5, 1708, Newport, Rhode Island to the Board of Trade, in *RCRI*, Volume IV, 1707-1740 (Providence: Knowles, Anthony & Co., 1859), 60.

also beef, pork, butter, cheese, onions, horses, candles, and cider.”<sup>18</sup> On their return voyages from the islands ships carried “sugar, molasses, cotton, ginger, indigo, pimento, rum,” along with items from Europe, including “English goods, both woolens and linens, and Spanish iron.”<sup>19</sup>

Cranston described the coastal traffic this way: we have “small sloops and open boats constantly trading from one colony to the other, some for provisions, others for lumber, as staves, boards, and timber, &c.”<sup>20</sup> The coastal trade included two important destinations, both in New England: Connecticut and Massachusetts. In 1707, shipwrights built a record sixteen sloops and trade was exclusively conducted with Connecticut, where Captains had supplies for keeping the plantation complex running loaded below deck. But even in Connecticut the West Indian component was central as vessels from Rhode Island brought “rum, molasses, sugar and New England Iron,” in exchange for “all sorts of grain, flax, pork, and boards, tar, pitch, rosin, and turpentine.” The coastal trade to Massachusetts also featured a West Indian link, as Rhode Island captains had “all sorts of European commodities” loaded into the cargo holds and unloaded “butter, cheese and money.” The last item was especially crucial since Rhode Islanders depended upon their counterparts in Boston to supply them with English and European goods and payments required money. Whether money from the Dutch West Indies, or re-exported slave produced goods, the “wheel” of coastal commerce was still – to a large degree - dependent upon the products of enslaved Africans.

Further expansion into the markets of the plantation complex was temporarily checked by the outbreak of war in 1702, also known as the “War of Spanish Succession” but growth continued in the 1730s and 1740s. To counter naval threats during the War, Governor Ward

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 56-60.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 56-60.

<sup>20</sup> Samuel Cranston, November 15, 1710, Newport, Rhode Island to the Board of Trade, in *RCRI*, Volume IV, 1707-1740 (Providence: Knowles, Anthony & Co., 1859), 109.

explained, merchant vessels “were fitted out at the public charge...to defend us against the enemy...who were almost every year hovering about our coast.”<sup>21</sup> The overall impact of the war was to dampen whatever “little trade” had begun in the colony, which “almost stagnated in the long war with France.” The Peace of 1713 brought new commercial opportunities, along with a policy of printing state money to provide ready currency. By 1715 merchants had “built more vessels, and generously advanced into a much larger trade, and everything among us seemed to be in flourishing circumstances.” Prospects improved and trade was “still increasing.” Ward attributed “the surprising growth of our commerce” to “the merchants being supplied with a medium of exchange,” i.e. printed colonial currency.<sup>22</sup> This, in turn, had “invited people of all sorts and conditions to come from all parts and settle among us,” which raised the population to 17,935 by 1730, and up again to 32,773 by 1748-1749.<sup>23</sup> The results were a “populous” colony, “furnished...with mechanics of everykind, and helped us to make a further progress in trade and navigation.”<sup>24</sup>

Along with increasing the amount of currency, the local government encouraged specific industries and supported maritime infrastructure projects. Trying to emulate the “success” of Massachusetts and New Hampshire fisheries, the Rhode Island assembly passed legislation in 1731 to aid the development of a whale and cod fishery. They placed a bounty, essentially an incentive payment, of five shillings per barrel on whale oil, one penny per pound on whale bone,

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<sup>21</sup> Report of Governor Ward to the Board of Trade, Newport, January 9, 1740, in *RCRI*, Volume 5, 8-9. All the direct quotes in this paragraph are from Ward’s report.

<sup>22</sup> The impact of issuing paper currency on New England’s economic development, including Rhode Island, is the focus of Margaret Newell, *From Dependency to Independence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

<sup>23</sup> “1730 Census,” reprinted in *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society*, Volume III (Providence: Marshall, Brown and Company, 1835), 114. By 1730, the African-American population was 1,648, and the Indian population was 185. For the 1748-1749 population figures, see the report in *RCRI*, Volume 5, 270. The African-American population was recorded to be 3,077 and the Indian population 1,257. For a comprehensive breakdown of Census and overall population figures for the colonial era, see the historical tables in Edwin M. Snow, *Report Upon the Census of Rhode Island, 1865* (Providence: Providence Press Company, 1867), xxxii, sliv, xlv.

<sup>24</sup> Report of Governor Ward to the Board of Trade, Newport, January 9, 1740, in *RCRI*, Volume 5, 10.

and five shillings per quintal on good merchantable fish, taken in any vessels belonging to Rhode Island. Two years later, “having made some progress in the fishing business,” the Assembly voted to develop “a convenient harbor, nearer the fishing ground, than Newport.” Legislation made such a harbor on Block Island (see Figure 1), “fit to receive our fishing vessels and the coasters of this and neighboring governments.” Issuing more paper money, “bills in public credit,” as they were called, the General Assembly declared that a portion of the interest derived from loans operating through banks using public money be “appropriated to build a pier and make the harbor on Block Island.”<sup>25</sup> By 1738, there was sufficient trade and demand so that a lighthouse was needed to aid ships entering and clearing the colony’s main ports. The colonial Assembly voted “to erect a lighthouse for the benefit of our navigation, and to render it more easy and secure.”<sup>26</sup> Alongside this project, the Assembly had authorized a series of ferries to assist intra-colony water transport.<sup>27</sup> Moving West Indian and other products out from Newport to the surrounding towns required specialized watercraft, in addition to the usual landed means of transportation by horse or oxen. In particular, a ferry system was required to move people, livestock and commodities across the bay, especially from Jamestown (which was the name of the town on the “Connonicut Island” in the lower part of Narragansett Bay) to Newport and this indeed was licensed by the General Assembly in 1700. (As Figure 2 indicates, as of 1777 or thereabouts, there was still an East Ferry operating from Jamestown to Newport.) Other ferries, including one in Portsmouth, were licensed “as early as 1640.”<sup>28</sup> Such services as the Jamestown ferry were especially necessary for individuals living in the Western part of the colony wishing

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 10-11.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 11-12.

<sup>27</sup> Charles V. And Anna Augusta Chapin, “The Jamestown and Newport Ferries,” *Rhode Island Historical Society, Collections*, Volume XIV, No. 4 (October 1921), 110-121.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 111.

to access the major port without resorting to a long and arduous route overland.<sup>29</sup> As Figures 1 and 2 indicate, the ferry to and from Newport offered a very direct passage across the bay. Those travelling by land were forced to make a giant U, heading due north first, then curving around the uppermost part of the colony and then down the eastern side, before crossing over and making their way into Newport. Such a circuitous route took too long and cost too much, in addition to risking damage to livestock with every step taken over primitive road conditions. Moreover, heavy barrels of West Indian products like sugar, molasses and rum, were more easily moved by boat, whenever possible. Thus, the maritime infrastructure like the ferries, in combination with the lighthouse, helped to encourage an economy that continued to expand in the middle of the eighteenth century –especially with the West Indian plantation complex.

By 1740, Rhode Island's maritime commerce depended on the West Indies. The shipping fleet, estimated at "above one hundred sail of vessels belonging to this town (Newport), besides what belong to the rest of the colony," were "all constantly employed in trade."<sup>30</sup> Governor Ward reported the relative share of voyages this way: "many in the West Indies, some on the coast of Africa, others, in the neighboring colonies, few in Europe."<sup>31</sup> The importance of maritime trade, especially to the West Indies, cannot be understated, as Governor Ward noted to the Board of Trade. "Navigation," he stressed, "is one main pillar on which this government is supported" and the "flourishing condition, evident from our trade," rested on Rhode Island's links to the plantation complex. "Our African trade," Ward emphasized, "often furnishes them with slaves for their plantations." This "first wheel," of commerce was augmented by the second, whereby the West Indies were "supplied with lumber of all sorts, horses to turn their mills, and

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<sup>29</sup> The Chapins describe a number of different ferries in operation during the colonial era.

<sup>30</sup> Report of Governor Ward to the Board of Trade, Newport, January 9, 1740, in *RCRI*, Volume 5, 12.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, 12.

vessels for their own use.” Ships brought back the commodities produced there for re-export: the third wheel. “The neighboring governments,” Ward explained, “have been in great measure, supplied with rum, sugar, molasses and other West India goods by us brought home and sold to them.”<sup>32</sup> The coastal trade was important enough that “nay, Boston, itself, the metropolis of the Massachusetts, is not a little obliged” to Rhode Islanders “for rum and sugar and molasses, which they distill into rum, for the use of their fisheries.”<sup>33</sup>

The West Indian trade allowed some Rhode Islanders to offset debts to English creditors and reduce “dependence upon Boston” to supply English goods through the coastal trade.<sup>34</sup> Instead of an indirect trade, “several of the merchants of Newport” made direct links to counterparts in London. Rhode Island merchants sold ships “of our own building,” along with exporting “logwood fetched from the Bay of Honduras,” a trade that, just for emphasis, was conducted “in our own vessels.”<sup>35</sup> Though shipbuilding, which supplied the West Indian trade and the logwood trade, Rhode Island merchants and their customers obtained enough goods so that “shop-keepers” in the colony were “well supplied.” Thus, even trade directed to England – another link in the chain of commerce – was connected to the labor of enslaved Africans in the wider Caribbean.

Rhode Island’s growth and trade was made possible by the expansion of the sugar and slavery complex in the West Indies, especially as locals across the colony took advantage of trading opportunities with the French and Dutch West Indies.<sup>36</sup> Critics denounced this

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>33</sup> The importance of the fisheries industry to the West Indian plantation complex is examined in Chapter Four on Salem and Marblehead.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>35</sup> For the logwood trade, see Michael A. Camille, “Historical Geography of the Belizean Logwood Trade,” *Yearbook, Conference of Latin American Geographers*, (Volume 22), 77-85.

<sup>36</sup> Barbadian sugar planters protested over “sugar, rum, and mellasses from any of the French and Dutch colonies,” easily flowed to “the Northern Colonies,” like Rhode Island. “The trade,” they complained, “is very prejudicial to

“iniquitous trade subsisting between the colony of Rhode Island and the King’s enemies” in the French West Indies, which continued even in wartime, much to the consternation of imperial officials and British West Indian planters.<sup>37</sup> Rhode Island ships, one official complained, “carried cargoes of fish and provisions, and in return have brought back the produce of the French sugar plantations” which included “cargoes of molasses, sugar and indigo.”<sup>38</sup> An earlier attempt in 1733, the Molasses Act, passed during peacetime, to regulate trade, enforce the Navigation Acts and end the persistent “iniquitous trade” was ignored - by Rhode Islanders and everyone else in New England.<sup>39</sup>

This mid-eighteenth century growth was the beginning of Rhode Island’s “Golden Age,” which culminated in the 1760s.<sup>40</sup> Glimpses of this emerging prosperity and the overall state of the colony, appeared in contemporary observations made in the 1750s by Episcopal clergymen James McSparran.<sup>41</sup> Best described as “a Rector of the Narragansett Church for 35 years, a gentlemen, and a slaveholding farmer,” who “owned one hundred acres of choice farm land”

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this island.” Finally, they found that this trade “encouraged the Northern colonies to set up many still-houses for the making of rum, which in course must make the price of rum of H.M. Sugar Islands fall.” Given the rise of the domestic distilling industry in Rhode Island, discussed later in the chapter, the Barbadians’ complaints seemed quite prescient. See Barbados, July 7, 1730, Governor Wormsley to the Duke of Newcastle, in *CSPCD*.

<sup>37</sup> Chambers Russell to Governor Greene, July 8, 1748, in *RCRI*, Volume V, 259-260.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 259-260.

<sup>39</sup> For the Molasses Act, see Albert B. Southwick, “The Molasses Act – Source of Precedents,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, VIII (July 1951), 389-405; Richard B. Sheridan, “The Molasses Act and the Market Strategy of the British Sugar Planters,” *Journal of Economic History*, Volume 17, No.1 (1March 1957), 62-83; Frederick Bernays Wiener, “The Rhode Island Merchants and the Sugar Act,” *The New England Quarterly*, Vol.3, No.3 (July 1930), 465-466.

<sup>40</sup> Bigelow, Part I, Chapter V, 36 where he argued that “the commerce with the French and Dutch islands made possible the Golden Age of Newport...a period not reached until just before the American Revolution, but the stage was set between 1733 and 1756.” He devoted an entire chapter to this “boom” – which he dubbed “the Golden Age of West Indian commerce.” See Chapter VII – “The Golden Age” – where he expands on this in some detail. Withey has more recently re-stated this idea in her work on page 33. For details of the Caribbean expansion, see Robin Blackburn *The Making of New World Slavery* (New York: Verso, 1997), 401-456; John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill 1991), 144-168, and Richard Sheridan *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

<sup>41</sup> James McSparran, *America Dissected, Being a Full and True Account of the American Colonies* (Dublin, 1753), 132.



located between North and South Kingston,<sup>42</sup> McSparren found that by 1752 Newport was “the Metropolis of the colony.”<sup>43</sup> Surveying the economic output of Rhode Island he reported that “the produce of this colony is principally butter and cheese, fat cattle, wool, and fine horses, that are exported to all parts of the English America.” Horses in particular caught his attention, as they would West Indian planters. McSparren noted how “they are remarkable to fleetness and swift pacing, and I have seen some of them pace a mile in little more than two minutes, a good deal less than three.”<sup>44</sup> He also noted the large number of ships found in the colony; “there are above three hundred vessels, such as sloops, schooners, snows, brigantines and ships, from 60 tons and upwards belonging to this colony.” However, McSparren lamented how Rhode Islanders were not producing local agricultural goods for export. Instead, they acted as carriers “for other colonies (rather) than furnished here with cargoes.” He concluded local residents were “lazy and greedy of gain, since, instead of cultivating the lands, we improve too many hand in trade.”<sup>45</sup> Though McSparren condemned the turn away from the land and agricultural pursuits toward trade, his fellow colonists had long ago vigorously embraced the West Indian markets and the larger Atlantic slave economy.

Analyzing the available customs records covering the years between 1768 and 1772 reveals the full magnitude of Rhode Island’s export economy, the “many hands in trade” McSparren lamented. These customs records, in combination with new pricing data, also allow for a more thorough examination of the four “wheels of commerce” – the slave trade, the West

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<sup>42</sup> Louis P. Masur, “Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Rhode Island: Evidence from the Census of 1774,” *Slavery and Abolition*, Vol.6, No. 2 (September 1985), 144, provides both the quotes, a brief biography of McSparren, and details how he employed his slaves at every conceivable form of labor. McSparren was part of “the South Kingston Planters,” a group which practiced the only large-scale slave plantation-style labor system in colonial New England. For details see Christian McBurney, “The South Kingston Planters: Country Gentry in Colonial Rhode Island,” *Rhode Island History*, Vol.45, No.3, (August 1986), 81-93.

<sup>43</sup> McSparren, *America Dissected*, 132.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, 132-133.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, 134.

Indian trade, the coastal trade, and the supportive industries facilitating exports. Before providing value estimates of exports for each area: the West Indies, Great Britain, Southern Europe, Africa, the Slave Trade, and the Coastal Trade, the following pages reveal the necessary contextual background concerning outward clearances, tonnage, and cargoes, to better situate our analysis of the export trade.

Overall, between 1768 and 1772, nearly three thousand voyages were launched from Rhode Island ports (See Table 2.1).<sup>46</sup> The largest number was made to North American mainland destinations, making the coastal trade the largest export region in terms of voyages. Nine hundred and sixty-eight voyages were made to the West Indies between 1768 and 1772, accounting for almost one-third of all sailings made from Newport, Providence, and other smaller ports in the colony. This was, moreover, an increasingly common destination for Rhode Island ships: 164 departed for the West Indies in 1768 but the number had grown to 221 by 1772, a rise of 35%.

The second largest region for ship clearances, accounting for one out of every four voyages from Rhode Island, were ports within New England itself. Rhode Island ships made 732 trips to ports within the region, accounting for almost 25% of the total number of all voyages made between these five years. In 1708, Governor Cranston was explicit to the Board of Trade about the relationship between Rhode Island and Massachusetts: “we are linked to the province of the Massachusetts (particularly to the town of Boston).”<sup>47</sup> Ports in Massachusetts were the most frequented, 478 voyages accounting for just over 65% of all New England trips and 16% of

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<sup>46</sup> Unless otherwise stated all the data presented regarding vessels, tonnage and cargoes clearing outward or entering inward are my calculations based on Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

<sup>47</sup> Samuel Cranston, December 5, 1708, Newport, Rhode Island to the Board of Trade, in in *RCRI*, Volume IV, 1707-1740 (Providence: Knowles, Anthony & Co., 1859), 55-58.

all voyages which left Rhode Island between 1768 and 1772. The nearby ports in Connecticut saw approximately half as much traffic, 237 voyages or just over 32% of all New England voyages and 8% of all voyages. Few Rhode Island ships traveled further north to the port of Piscataqua in New Hampshire. Only seventeen voyages were made there.

If Rhode Island ship captains favored “New England,” they shunned the “old.” Rhode Islanders largely avoided direct voyages to England. The brief attempts in the mid-1730s, mentioned earlier in the chapter, to establish links directly to Great Britain, appear more like an aberration when viewed in the long term over the whole colonial era. Consider Governor Cranston’s comments in 1708: “this colony never had any immediate or direct trade to or from England nor any supply directly from thence.”<sup>48</sup> Instead, locals operated by shipping goods through the nearby port of Boston, as Cranston explained: “what commodities any of the inhabitants have had to export for England, hath been exported by way of Boston, where their returns are also made.” This was also the site where Rhode Islanders, “chiefly and for the most part, supplied with the manufactory of England.” A considerable sum, “computed not less than 20,000 in cash hath annually, for some years past, remitted from thence to Boston upon that account.”

The low number of these transatlantic voyages continued throughout the colonial era as few ships made berth to any European ports. Fifty-six voyages were made to England between 1768 and 1772, accounting for barely 2% of all voyages. Even fewer traveled to Ireland. Only two ships went to Ireland, one in 1771 and the other in 1772 though each was large in size; 100 and 130 tons respectively. Ports in Southern Europe and the Wine Islands were more frequented; eighteen voyages in all but only half of one percent of the total. Even the closer ports in Canada

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 58. All the direct quotes in the paragraph are from Cranston’s report.

were not popular with Rhode Island vessels. Eighty voyages were made to Canadian destinations. Newfoundland was the largest area with thirty-nine trips, followed by Nova Scotia with twenty-seven and then Quebec with eighteen. Overall, trips to Canadian ports accounted for less than 3% of all voyages.

Five hundred and seventy-three voyages were made to the Middle Colonies, with New York as the primary destination for the majority of ships - three hundred and thirteen voyages, accounting for over 54% of all trips to this region and 10.5% of all voyages overall. In addition, the number of journeys being made to this port nearly doubled between 1768 and 1772. The Jerseys were another area frequented by Rhode Island vessels, 142 altogether to East and West Jersey, accounting for one out every five voyages made to the middle colonies and over 4% of all voyages leaving Rhode Island. Slightly fewer ships made their way to Pennsylvania, 118 voyages or almost 4% overall.

A fairly steady number of Rhode Island ships made their way to the Southern slave Colonies each year. Overall, the region accounted for over 15% of all the ships leaving Newport, Providence and other Rhode Island ports. The 459 ships visited ports from Virginia to the Floridas, with North Carolina in particular leading all other destinations. Two hundred and ten vessels plied their cargoes in North Carolina ports, accounting for over 45% of all southern destinations. This port was extremely important for merchants, shipwrights and anyone else involved in maritime enterprises since North Carolinians served as the largest suppliers of naval stores, the essentials for the building and maintenance of ships. Enslaved Africans provided the primary labor force responsible for producing these essential naval supplies, including pitch, tar

and turpentine.<sup>49</sup> Neighboring South Carolina, the colony with the highest number of enslaved Africans in British North America, was favored only about one-third as often, with some 71 ships making their way into Charleston's harbor. Roughly the same number visited Virginia: 72 ships; Maryland followed with 67, Georgia with 25, West Florida with 11, and East Florida with three.<sup>50</sup>

Slaving voyages to Africa were the most important transatlantic trips made from Rhode Island. At least eighty-five voyages were made between 1768 and 1772.<sup>51</sup> Eleven were launched in 1768, eighteen in 1769, sixteen in 1770, sixteen in 1771, and twenty-one in 1772 – Hopkins' "first wheel" was a steady one during these years.<sup>52</sup> As a percentage of total voyages, these "Guineamen" accounted for slightly more than 3% of the vessels clearing outward from Rhode Island, yet they were an important circuit directly linked into the West Indian system.

In fact, the seemingly small numbers obscure just how valuable this "wheel" was in the economic fortunes of Rhode Islanders – and the human cost in African lives. Consider that 10,284 Africans were loaded on slave ships during those eighty-five voyages between 1768 and 1772, yet only 8,882 were "sold."<sup>53</sup> Over 13% of all slaves died during the voyage yet Rhode Island merchants' profits hinged on those who survived. The value of the slave trade, as

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<sup>49</sup> As Justin Williams noted, "the naval stores industry was the foundation of the economy of North Carolina" and as Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee Cary make clear, that industry was almost exclusively worked by enslaved Africans. See Justin Williams, "English Mercantilism and Carolina Naval Stores, 1705-1776," *William and Mary Quarterly*, (May 1935), 169-185, the quote is on page 169, and Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee Cary, *Slavery in North Carolina, 1748-1775* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, N.C., 1995). The most recent, and best exploration of this topic can be found in Robert B. Outland III, *Tapping the Pines: The Naval Stores Industry in the American South* (Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge 2004), 8-34.

<sup>50</sup> Only one ship ever traveled to the Bahamas, a small 30 ton ship in 1768.

<sup>51</sup> This is the total provided using the *TSTD*. Coughtry, *Notorious Triangle*, page 77, estimated 101. *The Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772*, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK., recorded eighty three.

<sup>52</sup> Year to year breakdown derived from the *TSTD*.

<sup>53</sup> Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship, A Human History*, provides the best account of the journey from Africa across the Atlantic onboard the slavers, and then to the other shore in America. The numbers of African slaves quoted above is derived from the *TSTD*.

narrowly calculated by slave sales to the Caribbean, was £364,162<sup>54</sup> (See Table 2.8). If considered a separate branch of commerce, the slave trade was the second most valuable.

The African slave trade was, in some sense, an outgrowth of the West Indian trade as Jay Coughtry observed nearly a quarter of a century ago.<sup>55</sup> The vast majority of enslaved Africans bought by Rhode Island slave traders in West Africa were sold in the islands to work the sugar plantations; “nearly two-thirds (66%) of all vessels sold their slave cargoes” there. The largest market was Barbados, followed by Jamaica.<sup>56</sup> The rest were sold in mainland North American ports. Rhode Islanders particularly liked to invest in human flesh. Buyers from Newport to Providence actually purchased nearly one out of every five slaves sold between 1700 and 1775, initially from Barbados – as Governor Cranston reported in 1708 - but with increasing participation in the slave trade, many were purchased directly from the slave ships.<sup>57</sup>

During the entire colonial era for which we have records, between 1725 and 1775, 513 slavers sailed from Rhode Island to Africa.<sup>58</sup> Captains purchased 59,067 slaves in all or an average of almost 2,000 a year. Almost every voyage was made from Newport despite the increasing commercial competition from merchants in Providence – who apparently opted against entering into the slave trade, except on rare occasions.<sup>59</sup> Slaving voyages apparently

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<sup>54</sup> This is my estimate based on the average selling price of £41 - which was derived from the TSTD.

<sup>55</sup> Coughtry, *Notorious Triangle*, 21.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 165, 170-171.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 170. For the shift to direct slave purchases from Africa, see Greg O'Malley, “Beyond the Middle Passage: Slave Migration from the Caribbean to North America, 1619-1807,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol.66, No.1 (January 2009), pages 54-60 and Tables XI, and X.

<sup>58</sup> Coughtry, *Notorious Triangle*, page 33, lists 513, and the TSTD lists 511.

<sup>59</sup> One of those exceptions was the Brown brothers and their disastrous slaving voyage in 1764 with the ship *Sally*. This apparently convinced them that the trade itself was too risky and expensive. See Hedges, *The Browns of Providence Plantation*, Volume I, 70-85, particularly pages 75-81.

became a regular part of the commercial activities for Newporters between 1720 and 1740 and continued through the outbreak of the American Revolution.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to voyages clearing out from Rhode Island, tonnage figures of outward-bound vessels between 1768 and 1772 also demonstrate the relative importance of the West Indies (See Table 2.2). More than one-third of all tonnage leaving Rhode Island ports went to the Caribbean, 33,545 tons in all – the single largest overseas export area in the Atlantic compared to Great Britain, Ireland, Southern Europe and the Wine Island, and Africa. The rest of the tonnage was fairly well distributed across mainland British North American colonies, which are examined below.<sup>61</sup>

In terms of size, following the West Indies, New England ports accounted for 20% of all tonnage exported from Rhode Island. Tonnage to Massachusetts was the greatest. Of the 19,340 tons leaving Rhode Island for other ports in New England more than 75% headed to Boston, Salem, Nantucket, and other Bay Colony destinations.<sup>62</sup> Sixteen percent altogether went to Massachusetts. Neighboring Connecticut took only 3,741 tons, 4% overall. Even fewer Rhode Island ships made their way to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, sending only 730 tons to that port.

Moving south from New England, customs records allow us to calculate that 17% of all tonnage from Rhode Island went to the Middle Colonies, slightly less than in the intra-New England trade. Tonnage figures to New York alone accounted for over 9% overall, some 8,992

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<sup>60</sup> Coughtry, *Notorious Triangle*, 166. As Coughtry documents, Rhode Islanders resumed slaving voyages with newfound zeal after the peace between the newly independent and “free” United States and Great Britain was established.

<sup>61</sup> Of course viewed another way the coastal trade was the largest export area overall – an issue examined later in the chapter in my analysis of cargoes and values.

<sup>62</sup> Although Nantucket was not officially listed in the customs records as a designated clearance area the list of imported goods recorded in the coastwise trade, particularly whale headmatter, the main source for making spermaceti candles, indicates a substantial traffic between Rhode Island and Nantucket. In addition, the letters of merchants like Aaron Lopez and John Brown indicate a constant trade between the two areas.

tons. This was approximately double the amount sent to Philadelphia – 4,413 tons or over 4% and nearly three times as much as sent to the Jerseys – 3,055 tons or just over 3%.

Tonnage to the Southern Colonies accounted for over 13% overall, approximately 12,663 tons, with North Carolina leading all others with 5,833 tons, the fourth largest following the West Indies, Massachusetts, and New York. Tonnage to North Carolina accounted for almost half (46%) of all tonnage to the Southern Colonies. In addition, unlike tonnage figures to either Maryland, 1,697 tons or just under 2% overall, or Virginia, 2,093 tons or just over 2% overall, which both declined between 1768 and 1772, the amount sent to North Carolina increased, and did so rather markedly. Starting from 868 tons in 1768 and reaching 1437 tons by 1772, tonnage to North Carolina was the only southern colony to show such remarkable gain.<sup>63</sup> Tonnage to her sister colony South Carolina was much less, only 1,893 tons (less than 2%) between 1768 and 1772, with only 770 tons to Georgia, 302 tons to West Florida, and 75 tons to East Florida.

A considerably smaller amount of tonnage went to trans-Atlantic destinations. The 4,041 tons to Great Britain accounted for just over 4% overall while 3,332 tons were bound for Africa, amounting to 3.5%. Except for a slight, unexplained decline in 1771, tonnage to Africa remained remarkably consistent from year to year – 700 plus tons yearly – as opposed to Great Britain, where the figure doubled between 1768 and 1772, reaching over 1,000 tons that final recorded year. Tonnage to Southern Europe, by contrast, was declining over this same time span, from 290 tons in 1768 to just 165 tons in 1772.

What were the cargoes on these ships? What were the respective values of the goods? And what were the labor processes for some of these items? The standard value that has been given to the West Indian trade originated with the work of James Shepherd. By analyzing

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<sup>63</sup> This likely originated from the increasing needs of Rhode Islanders for naval stores.



customs records he totaled and assessed the quantity and value for thirteen commodities. He provided two main justifications for this approach. First, he claimed that these items “comprised the major part of the value of all exports.” He added that he was unable to gather price data for the omitted items.<sup>64</sup> There were considerable merits to this approach as Shepherd was able to marshal an impressive array of data. His goal was to provide “estimates of the value of commodity exports” for overseas areas: Great Britain, Ireland, Southern Europe and the Wine Islands, the West Indies, and Africa.<sup>65</sup> We can, however, expand on his data using new sources.

One important primary source which provides a better value are the commodity prices for 50 items printed in the *Providence Gazette* for the period from February 18, 1769 to September 26, 1772.<sup>66</sup> This new data provides us with two new advantages over the prices provided by Shepherd. First, the *Providence Gazette* prices were local and hence they more accurately reflect the prices for commodities actually sold in Rhode Island, as opposed to the prices Shepherd used which were often regionally applied. He often used Boston prices and in the absence of any other

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<sup>64</sup> Those thirteen were beef and pork, bread and flour, spermaceti candles, dried fish, Indian corn, hoops, iron bars, cattle, horses, whale oil, wine, pine boards and staves and heading. See Shepherd 7-9, Appendix B, p.11-12 for his original price discussion. His conclusion about how these thirteen items were the largest part of the value of overseas trade was jointly made with his co-author Gary Walton in *Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 92.

<sup>65</sup> Shepherd, *Commodity Exports from the British North American Colonies to Overseas Areas, 1768-1772: Magnitudes and Patterns of Trade*, 7. He decided not to include the coastal trade at this time, but would do in a co-authored article with Samuel H. Williamson, “The Coastal Trade of the British North American Colonies, 1768-1772,” *The Journal of Economic History* (December 1972), 783-810. In this article the authors provided new prices and values for a much larger list of commodities: 79 out of 118 listed. Strangely, however, Shepherd did not go back and adjust either his original work or his text with Gary Walton to include this new evidence. He actually hoped his work might spur others to broaden his data and provide more information. One goal of this chapter, indeed, the whole dissertation, is to provide that information and offer an updated, more complete description which more broadly situates the value of the West Indian trade.

<sup>66</sup> Shepherd was apparently unaware of this specific information available in the *Providence Gazette*, since a primary source of his price data came from colonial newspapers. The only other Rhode Island newspaper at this time, the *Newport Mercury*, did not print any commodity prices. The full data I have assembled are in the “Appendix: *Providence Gazette* Price Series,” in the end of this chapter.

examples, assumed that this was the price in Rhode Island.<sup>67</sup> Secondly, the new price data allows us to quantify more of the exports, and provide a fuller, more accurate total of the value of exports Rhode Islanders sent to the West Indies and other areas as well.

In addition to human beings, colonial Rhode Island merchants became known for selling three other items: horses, furniture, and candles. Several scholars have observed the preference for the “Narragansett Pacer” by West Indian gentlemen for both competitive and casual riding.<sup>68</sup> Customs records do not indicate the type of horse sent to the West Indies, so there is no way of determining how many of the 3,290 horses between 1768 and 1772 were Pacers, as opposed to regular horses commonly used for the more mundane tasks required in the plantation economies to transport goods. Rhode Islanders were the second largest exporters of horses from the British mainland North American colonies to the West Indies, supplying just over 11% of all the horses sent between 1768 and 1772.<sup>69</sup>

The extent to which Rhode Islanders raised horses domestically, (rather than importing them from neighboring Connecticut or Massachusetts), remains unknown. The larger land area available for raising horses in Connecticut, and the shared border with Rhode Island suggest that some horses were supplied by Connecticut merchants to their Rhode Island counterparts. Yet two major interrelated factors worked against transporting large numbers overland: the poor road conditions and expense involved in transportation. As one French observer noted, the main northern road linking Rhode Island to Connecticut, especially from Scituate to Voluntown, was

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<sup>67</sup> For example, he used a single price for horses from an invoice “of the sales of the Sloop *Biddeford*, September 10, 1766, Bourn Papers, Manuscript Division, Baker Library, Harvard University, Boston, Massachusetts, in Shepherd, *Commodity Exports*, page 27, footnote 5. I discussed the issue of horse prices in the Connecticut chapter.

<sup>68</sup> Christian McBurney, “The South Kingston Planters: Country Gentry in Colonial Rhode Island,” *Rhode Island History* (August 1986), 85, 92, citing Bruce Macmillan Bigelow, “The Commerce of Rhode Island with the West Indies Before the American Revolution,” PhD, 1930, Chapter 3, p.7. More recently the authors of the Brown Report re-iterated this claim. See *Brown University Report on Slavery and Justice* (2007), 11.

<sup>69</sup> Connecticut was the largest exporter from North America, as my chapter on that colony makes clear.

“very bad; one is continually going up and down hill, and always over rough roads.”<sup>70</sup>

Transporting horses in any large number over landed distances risked harming the animals, which would of course diminish their value as the cost of transport increased costs. Water carriage was especially risky. Passage along the coast was treacherous for both large and small ships, as colonial newspaper accounts in both Connecticut and Rhode Island make clear.<sup>71</sup> Gundalows and other small watercraft might easily tip over in the coastal waters. The combination of cost and risk likely made the prospect of raising horses domestically more appealing.<sup>72</sup>

Horses were also used for the most luxurious forms of transport, the carriages which Rhode Islanders manufactured and exported, whole or in parts, to the West Indies. Between 1768 and 1772 ten carriage carts, forty-nine carriage chairs, and twenty-three carriage chaises were sent to the islands.<sup>73</sup> Customs records indicate that these were produced locally, and were not simply re-exports produced in other colonies but transported in Rhode Island ships.<sup>74</sup>

Other locally manufactured commodities in demand were house furnishings. Rhode Island woodworkers constructed 240 chairs, 854 desks, 279 tables and 2 cases of drawers for export to the West Indies. While some found their way to local merchants, lawyers and other members of the “middling sort” and maybe even a few members of the “lower orders,” living in

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<sup>70</sup> Marquis De Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782, Volume 1*, translated by Howard C. Rice, (Charlotte: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 67.

<sup>71</sup> Issues of the *Providence Gazette*, *Newport Mercury*, and *New London Gazette* frequently contained news of at least one ship in local waters meeting an unhappy fate.

<sup>72</sup> However, data from the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK, indicates that coastal imports of horses were very small. Only 102 were imported this way, and all of them, along with 32 additional horses were re-exported in the coastal trade. Thus, the majority of the 3,290 horses were most likely domestically raised in Rhode Island.

<sup>73</sup> Prices for these items have been elusive and in their absence I have opted not to try and guess about their value in monetary terms. However, carriages were expensive, and only available for the very wealthy.

<sup>74</sup> Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK., which documents a very small re-export of these items along the coastwise trade but the majority of these items were locally produced.

the islands a large number of the fancier and more expensive pieces, especially those crafted with expensive mahogany wood, ended up in the homes of the West Indian plantation class.<sup>75</sup> Here they provided both the aesthetic and physical comfort inside the plantation house – this despite the high absenteeism rates among owners who may have only used or seen such furnishings once, if at all.<sup>76</sup>

Plantation overseers likely used the furniture within the household and when they wrote their reports back to the absentee owners, particularly in times without the aid of natural light, did so largely through the illumination provided by spermaceti candles made in Rhode Island. Chandlers, the men responsible for making candles, were continuously at work in Rhode Island, employing their art of transforming the head matter of whales into candles. Exports from Rhode Island dominated the West Indian market. Almost two-thirds of all the spermaceti candles exported to the West Indies from British North America arrived from Rhode Island<sup>77</sup> (See Table 2.5). Between 1768 and 1772 Rhode Island exported 949,677 pounds of spermaceti candles to the West Indies<sup>78</sup> (See Table 2.6). These items were quite valuable, worth 16.5 % of the total value of all commodities exported from Rhode Island to the West Indies and constituting the largest single item in terms of monetary value. They were also major suppliers to customers

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<sup>75</sup> For a larger discussion of mahogany, and its' high cost, see Jennifer Anderson, "Nature's Currency: The Atlantic Mahogany Trade, 1720-1830," (PhD New York University, 2006).

<sup>76</sup> On the high absenteeism rates see Sheridan, *Sugar and Slaves*, pages 385-387, 470-474.

<sup>77</sup> My estimates based on data from the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK. Massachusetts was the next largest export area, as suppliers there provided 21%. Whalers operating out of Nantucket were the largest suppliers of spermaceti headmatter though, constantly sending supplies to manufacturing facilities in Rhode Island for processing into candles. See James B. Hedges, *The Browns of Providence Plantations, the Colonial Years* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1968), 86-122.

<sup>78</sup> Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK. Unless otherwise noted, all my data regarding Rhode Island exports is from this source.

along the coastal ports of North America, exporting 498,293 pounds, though the precise amounts to each destination remains unclear due to source limitations.<sup>79</sup>

Ships from Rhode Island arrived in the West Indies with not only spermaceti but with cheaper and inferior quality tallow and wax candles as well. Demand for Tallow candles rose between 1768 and 1772, as merchants exported nearly three times as many by 1772 as they had five years earlier – seeking perhaps to offset the more expensive spermaceti with this alternative<sup>80</sup> (See Table 2.6). Overall, 23,454 pounds of tallow candles were exported. By contrast, only 3,846 pounds of wax candles were sent, and almost all of these in 1772.

Spermaceti candles were employed not only to illuminate the plantation house, but during one of the key moments in the sugar harvesting cycle.<sup>81</sup> Between January and May were the best times to harvest the sugar stalks and bring them to the grinding mills to extract the juice. Here at “the ingenio” or “engine” – to use the English translation of the Spanish term – the mill rollers, powered by water, wind or animals, crushed the stalks and juice ran down troughs and into cisterns which were then moved into the boiling house.<sup>82</sup> Sugar was boiled to evaporate the water and skim off any impurities. Together this three step process of harvesting, milling and boiling constituted the main sugar cycle. Since “a sugar works often operated around the clock at harvest time,” spermaceti candles provided the best illumination possible for night work. Moonlight might suffice during cloudless nights during a favorable lunar phase but this was a

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<sup>79</sup> The Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports do not specify in the coastwise trade the specific port of entry, only the quantity of a particular commodity imported.

<sup>80</sup> *The Providence Gazette* listed the price for Spermaceti candles at 1 shilling, 9 pence per pound and Tallow candles at 7.25 pence per pound.

<sup>81</sup> Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 190-195. This paragraph is largely dependent on Dunn’s excellent description regarding the sugar harvesting cycle though he does not mention the issue of illumination or lighting sources. Because of the dominant volume of Spermaceti candles I have assumed these were the primary lighting source, as opposed to the tallow or wax candles.

<sup>82</sup> Though Dunn quotes the Barbadian planter Richard Ligon, who used the Spanish term – “ingenio”- the term was a derivative of the Portuguese “engenho.” See Stuart Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society, Bahia: 1550-1835* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3-5.

selective and unpredictable source. During this demanding, time-sensitive production process plantation managers could not take a chance. Fireplaces might also provide light – but these were limited in mobility, seemingly found only in the mills and not the boiling house, and there was hardly any way to control the light.<sup>83</sup> Thus, in a very literal way, Rhode Islanders helped to illuminate the labor system at work on the West Indian sugar plantations.

Rhode Islanders provided another key element in the infrastructure for the plantation complex: livestock. Like their neighbors in Connecticut, Rhode Islanders exported a substantial amount of animals to the West Indies. Ships were loaded with 3,290 horses, 873 head of cattle, 15,821 sheep, 4,952 poultry and 2,966 hogs.<sup>84</sup> Despite the relatively small landed area of Rhode Island, as compared with the either Massachusetts or Connecticut, a group of wealthy Rhode Island landowners in South Kingston devoted thousands of acres to the raising of livestock. These “planters” raised considerable numbers of cattle, sheep and horses for export.<sup>85</sup> Customs records also indicate that despite the brisk coastwise trade, livestock exported from Rhode Island came from local sources, and was not supplied via other colonies through the coastwise trade.<sup>86</sup>

Rhode Islanders also exported two other maritime animal-based commodities: whale products (in addition to candles) and fish. They sent 67,739 gallons of whale oil to the West Indies.<sup>87</sup> Fish exports were sent as either dried or pickled. The 85,940 quintals of dried fish exported, along with 63,215 barrels of pickled fish, provided a key food source for slaves toiling

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<sup>83</sup> Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 195, only mentions fireplaces in three windmills in Barbados.

<sup>84</sup> The cattle were for transportation, sheep supplied “dung” or fertilizer for the sugar fields, and poultry and hogs were food stocks. The importance of cattle and sheep in the plantation complex are more thoroughly examined in the Connecticut chapter.

<sup>85</sup> McBurney, *passim*.

<sup>86</sup> My calculations based on data in Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

<sup>87</sup> Customs officials recorded whale oil in both tons and gallons. I have followed the standard exchange rate of 252 gallons to one ton for my calculations. The records list 267 tons, along with an additional 455 gallons. For the conversion ratio, see John McCusker, “Colonial Statistics,” in *Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to the Present*, Volume 5, Susan B. Carter, et al. eds. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 5-644.

away on the plantations.<sup>88</sup> While some local fisherman were probably working their lines in the capture and processing of these catches, a majority were likely re-exports from Massachusetts – where the fishery was one of the dominant sectors of the economy.<sup>89</sup>

Other food stocks were also heavily exported. These included onions, which were packed and measured in three different units: 23 bushels, 294,191 bunches, and 188,645 ropes; 46,080 pounds of butter; 2,754 barrels of beef and pork; and 251,658 pounds of cheese.<sup>90</sup> Other food staples sent included 637 barrels of apples, 234 barrels of beer, 642 bushels of oats, 219 bushels of peas, 3,188 bushels of potatoes, 16,931 bushels of Indian corn, and 4,042 tons and 5,422 barrels of bread and flour. Regardless of how much was loaded on ships in Newport or Providence, and transported to various Caribbean ports, the vast majority of these products provided human fuel for the enslaved Africans toiling away on the plantations.

Besides food, Rhode Islanders exported another major component to sustain the plantation complex: building materials. A significant amount of wood products were exported: 9,583,945 board feet of pine plank, 63,200 feet of oak plank, 6,960,140 hoops, 3,618,936 staves, and 9,770,050 shingles.<sup>91</sup> In addition, 32,706 feet of oars were sent along with 43,592 shook hogsheads, and 173 hoop tress sets.<sup>92</sup> A key element in mill construction, bricks, was also exported in large quantities; 1,641,700 were sent between 1768 and 1772.

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<sup>88</sup> J.R. Ward, *British West Indian Slavery, 1750-1834* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 105-108.

<sup>89</sup> The section later on in this chapter regarding the coastal trade certainly indicates this possibility. The fishing industry is more fully described in Chapter Four.

<sup>90</sup> The domestic labor production processes for these commodities are examined more fully in Chapter Two on Connecticut.

<sup>91</sup> The domestic labor production processes for these commodities are examined more fully in the New Hampshire chapter.

<sup>92</sup> According to Richard Pares, a shook hogshead was “a term applied to the staves and heading in bundles before they were made into hogsheads.” See Pares, *Yankees and Creoles*, 25. Similarly, a “hoop tress set” was used in making barrels.

The smallest items exported, in terms of volume, were naval stores and domestically grown tobacco. Of the former group, 214 barrels of pitch, 1178 barrels of tar, and 206 barrels of turpentine found their way in cargo holds for the West Indies. Instead, Rhode Island merchants imported 2,026 barrels of pitch, 11,632 barrels of tar, and 48,713 barrels of turpentine for domestic use as their shipwrights and jack tars applied these items on every sloop, schooner, brig, and ship that ventured into the water.<sup>93</sup> Such local demands precluded any larger re-export, especially since North Carolinians could directly offer these products. By contrast, despite a small domestic tobacco industry, originally started in the seventeenth century, little of that product, a mere 3,177 pounds, was exported between 1768 and 1772.<sup>94</sup>

Despite the importance of the direct trade between Rhode Island and the West Indies, the largest export area, in terms of ships and tonnage, was the coastal trade. Of the 2,993 voyages which cleared out from Rhode Island between 1768 and 1772 more than 61% of all voyages, 1,849 in all, were to coastal British North America. These were defined as ports along the British mainland of North America, from Newfoundland in the North to Florida in the South, and everywhere in between.<sup>95</sup> Tonnage figures for the coastal trade were slightly less. Of the 93,678 tons which cleared Rhode Island, 51,135 went to coastal ports, accounting for more than 54% of all tonnage.

Because the coastal trade represented the largest market area for both vessels and tonnage it is import to know what those ships were carrying and how much those cargos were worth. To recover this information requires using the “Customs Ledger” records in great detail, as they

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<sup>93</sup> The vast majority of naval stores likely originated from North Carolina. Data from Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

<sup>94</sup> One probable reason for the small export was the much larger amount available to West Indian customers from the Chesapeake region.

<sup>95</sup> They also included the Bermudas and Bahamas, even though these are not actually landed parts of the mainland.



provide listings of every commodity exported and imported, though they provide neither ship-specific information nor ports of call.<sup>96</sup> Thus, we can establish the general movement of goods, but not their precise points of origin or destination.<sup>97</sup> Yet by comparing the data with the ship and tonnage information in general, we can make reasonable inferences. More importantly, because the coastal trade represents the largest portion of ship voyages and tonnage, discovering both the cargos and their values becomes critical in establishing this trade in comparison to the West Indian.

Only one scholarly attempt has ever been made to investigate New England's coastwise trade and no attempt has been made to assess such commerce for Rhode Island.<sup>98</sup> The pages that follow list every item for the full five years provided in the customs records with price data for seventy eight items (See Table 2.7).<sup>99</sup> Using a nearly full listing, and new price data, it is possible to establish the value of the coastal trade both in gross and net terms, and provide some comparisons to the other branches of trade from the colony.

In terms of exports, West Indian slave-produced products constituted the most significant items unloaded off Rhode Island ships docked from Canada to the Floridas. Sixty-six percent of the total value of all the exports between 1768 and 1772 came from goods produced in the plantation complex.<sup>100</sup> New England-made rum was the single most valuable item; 1,183,733

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<sup>96</sup> Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

<sup>97</sup> In addition, coastal re-exported shipments of British imports were not recorded, a point made in James F. Shepherd and Samuel H. Williamson, "The Coastal Trade of the British North American Colonies: 1768-1772," *The Journal of Economic History* (December 1972), 783-810.

<sup>98</sup> James F. Shepherd and Samuel H. Williamson, "The Coastal Trade of the British North American Colonies: 1768-1772," *The Journal of Economic History* (December 1972), 783-810.

<sup>99</sup> This table summarizes my data. This is still not the complete record, a point discussed further in the chapter. Additional information regarding the price data in the "Appendix – Price Data: Sources and Methodologies."

<sup>100</sup> All the figures expressed in this discussion of the coastal trade represent the net value, as opposed to the gross value, unless otherwise noted. All the data totals are mine and are derived from a combination of the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK and price

gallons were exported, totaling £71,049 and accounting for 19% of the total value of the coastal export trade.<sup>101</sup> While the distilleries in Rhode Island were not primarily staffed by enslaved Africans, the primary ingredient for the making of rum, molasses, was produced by West Indian slaves in prodigious amounts - a point to which we will return shortly. For the moment, let us examine the distillery industry in Rhode Island.

As early as 1684 Rhode Islanders had constructed at least one distillery and by 1772, nearly a century later, the colony contained the second largest number, twenty in all, in the entire British mainland of North America.<sup>102</sup> From modest beginnings in the seventeenth century the industry expanded briskly in the eighteenth century. By 1760 some sixteen distilleries operated in Newport alone and in just four years that number has risen even further. Reporting to the Board of Trade, the Rhode Island General Assembly recorded “upwards of thirty distill houses...constantly employed in making rum from molasses.”<sup>103</sup> These distilleries were owned by many of the most influential and prosperous members of the colony, merchants, landowners, etc. who were the political, economic, social, and cultural bedrock of Rhode Island.<sup>104</sup> Their fortune and standing owed much to having free laborers turn slave-produced molasses into New England rum, though quite often they cut out this step, and bought slave-produced West Indian rum instead.

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data I have utilized from a variety of sources. See the “Appendix – Price Data: Sources and Methodologies” section for more details.

<sup>101</sup> Unless otherwise noted all the figures represent net exports, in terms of both quantity and value. Very little New England made rum was imported coastwise; 15,163 gallons worth £910.

<sup>102</sup> John J. McCusker, “The Rum Trade and the Balance of Payments of the Thirteen Colonies, 1650-1775,” (PhD, University of Pittsburgh, 1970), 439. This is his estimate. Massachusetts had the largest number. Much of this paragraph is indebted to his pioneering work.

<sup>103</sup> Report in *RICR*, Volume 6, p.381. McCusker also quotes from this report. Apparently, following the Seven Years War (1754-1763), the business suffered from some decline, if these numbers are correct, though the precise reason for the contraction remains unclear. McCusker, who provided twenty as his estimate by 1770, offered no explanation as to the post-war decline. McCusker, “Rum Trade,” 440-441.

<sup>104</sup> McCusker provides a long list of those involved on page 441.

One of the key components in the West Indian sugar plantation was the distillery, and nearly every planter had a still house to make rum from a mix of sugar, molasses and skimmings.<sup>105</sup> Worked by slaves who tended the other main plantation operations as well, rum soon became as important a product as the sugar and molasses from which it was derived. The British West Indies alone produced nearly eleven million gallons of rum in 1770.<sup>106</sup> Rhode Islanders imported only a scant 2,123 gallons of West Indian rum from other British mainland colonies in the coastwise trade. Instead, they re-exported West Indian rum from their own direct imports from the islands. Overall, this re-exported commodity was the second most valuable item in the coastal trade; 611,016 gallons valued at £61,407, or 17% of the total value. This was sold across the British mainland North American colonies out of Rhode Island based ships.<sup>107</sup> Combining both West Indian and New England rum exports reveals that they comprised 36% of the total value of all coastal exports from Rhode Island.

Molasses, a key ingredient in the making of rum, was the third most valuable commodity exported from Rhode Island in the coastwise trade; 1,116,625 gallons valued at £56,110 or 15% of the total value. This was also a re-exported item from the direct West Indian trade. In all, 2,345,062 gallons of molasses was imported from the West Indies to Rhode Island and over 47% of this total, 1,116,625 gallons in all, was then reloaded onto ships plying the coastal trade. Thus, the main source of wealth for the third most valuable coastwise commodity exported was a slave-produced West Indian product.

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<sup>105</sup> Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 196-197.

<sup>106</sup> David Eltis, "The slave economies of the Caribbean: Structure, performance, evolution and significance," in Franklin Knight, ed. *General History of the Caribbean*, Volume III (UNESCO Publishing, 1997), Table 3.1, p. 113

<sup>107</sup> All commodity figures are mine based on Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK while prices were obtained from various sources mentioned in the "Appendix – Price Data: Sources and Methodologies."

Together, these two sugar related products; molasses and rum, combined to generate over 54% of the total value of all coastwise commodities exported. Brown sugar was also re-exported along the coastwise trade in significant quantities. Over 7,382 cwt was shipped, worth £10,387 or about 3% of the total value of the coastwise trade.<sup>108</sup> Loaves of brown sugar were also re-exported, 125,197 pounds worth £2,447. There were six other West Indian items re-exported in the coastal trade: cocoa – 7946 pounds, worth £399, coffee – 4,157 lbs worth £186, limes – 8 barrels at £12, lignum vitae – 9 tons at £41, Pimento – 6,040 lbs at £169 and mahogany – 22,619 ft. at £379.<sup>109</sup>

There were two significant non-West Indian exports in the coastal trade: lime and spermaceti candles. 45,133 bushels of lime were exported, worth £31,751 and accounting for 15% of the total value of the coastal trade exports. Candles were worth about half as much and comprised about 8% of the total value of the coastal trade, valued at £29,213. That Rhode Island candle makers were able to produce so much product for the American market is not surprising given that they supplied two-thirds of all the exports to the West Indies (See Table 2.5).<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> cwt refers to hundredweight, which varied in weight from 100 to 112 pounds. See McCusker, “Historical Statistics,” 5-644.

<sup>109</sup> All the amounts and figures are mine based on the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK and the prices in the Appendix. The mahogany listing is somewhat incomplete since I have not been able to locate prices for square feet, 5,700 feet of which were imported and then 6,600 feet were exported. Also, three tons of mahogany was imported and 19 tons exported and I have not found a price in this weight as yet. Of course, slaves were also packed and sold along as if they were any other commodity for the coastwise trade, dutifully recorded in the customs ledger and whether the sixteen people imported and forty nine exported originated directly from Africa, or were re-exported from the West Indies to Rhode Island and then resold along the coastwise trade remains unknown. Thus, I have left slaves off this particular accounting summary. In addition, three West Indian items were actually imported in larger amounts than exported in the coastwise trade: cotton, hides, and salt. 21,304 pounds of cotton were imported and only 15,730 lbs were exported; 6,007 hides were imported and only 4,890 were exported and 58,825 bushels of salt were imported and only 24,278 bushels exported.

<sup>110</sup> They were also the largest coastal trade exporter.

In all, the total value of the exported items from the coastal trade was £370,327 (See Table 2.7).<sup>111</sup> The only previous estimate of the coastal trade, by James Shepherd and Samuel Williamson, estimated that the annual value of all New England exports in this trade was worth £304,000.<sup>112</sup> However, the data regarding Rhode Island alone suggests this figure is far too low.<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, most of the value of the coastal trade originated in West Indian, slave-produced goods, either directly, in the case of sugar, molasses, and West Indian rum, or through Rhode Islanders processing molasses to produce New England rum. Viewed in this way, at the very least, more than half of the Rhode Island coastal trade can be understood as an extension of the West Indian trade. Thus, one priority for re-conceptualizing Rhode Island's colonial history and further illustrating Hopkins' astute assessment which opened the chapter, is to re-center the importance of the coastal trade using his framework. The coastal trade now becomes a second or third wheel of commerce.

The centrality of the West Indies, both as an export market and as the producer of commodities that were processed and then re-exported, becomes quite clear when all the export regions Rhode Islanders frequented are compared (Table 2.8). Initially, the coastal trade appears as the largest export area. Such a conclusion might seem logical, given that the majority of ships

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<sup>111</sup> However, this is the "gross," and not "net," figure. In addition, none of these figures include the "invisibles," the value of "commercial services to overseas residents" which has been estimated to be quite high. See James F. Shepherd and Gary Walton, "Estimates of 'Invisible' Earnings in the Balance of Payments of the British North American Colonies, 1768-1772," *The Journal of Economic History* (June 1969), 230-263; Shepherd and Walton (1972), 114-136, and McCusker and Menard, *Economy of British America, 1607-1789*, 71-76, 109-111. Also, these figures also exclude any value acquired from the sale of ships.

<sup>112</sup> Shepherd and Williamson, "The Coastal Trade of the British North American Colonies: 1768-1772," 798. Following their example, in order to compare figures, I have also provided the gross value figure. There are several reasons for this discrepancy. First and foremost are the statistical models they employed which used complicated theoretical formulas and assumed certain averages. See pages 785-798. This, in turn, produced some basic errors on major items by using averages to estimate totals, instead of actual counts of particular items. For example, in the case of spermaceti candles they calculated that *all* of New England exported 129,379 lbs and then imported 116,491! (p.788) Compare this with the actual figures reported in the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK which record that Rhode Island alone imported 13,125 lbs and exported 511,418 lbs.

<sup>113</sup> I address the issue of the coastal trade figures within each chapter.

and tonnage leaving Rhode Island ports traveled to ports of call up and down the British mainland colonies of North America. However, when the value of West Indian products and their derivatives are separated out, a different picture emerges. Combining the coastal trade in West Indian commodities with the direct exports from Rhode Island to the West Indies reveals just how central the role of slave labor was in creating the monetary value expressed in the cold hard calculus of the customs ledgers. Here, in British Pound Sterling, the full significance of slave labor for Rhode Island emerges very clearly. Sixty-seven percent of the value of all Rhode Island exports was dependent upon goods whose production was based, in one way or another, on slave labor. When we add the African trade the figure rises to nearly seventy-four percent. Thus, almost three-quarters of the value of Rhode Islanders' export trade, the leading economic force in expanding the colony, was dependent upon enslaved Africans toiling away on the plantation complex in the West Indies.



**Figure 2-1 Map of Rhode Island – 1777**

**Source:** Thomas Jefferys, A map of the most inhabited part of New England, containing the provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, with the colonies of Conecticut and Rhode Island, divided into counties and townships: The whole composed from actual surveys and its situation adjusted by astronomical observations. Created/Published: [London] Thos. Jefferys, 1774. Digital Id: g3720 ar080000 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3720.ar080000>. Library of Congress, Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.





**Figure 2-2 Close-Up of Narragansett Bay in Rhode Island – 1777**

**Source:** Charles Blaskowitz, *A topographical chart of the bay of Narraganset in the province of New England, with all the isles contained therein, among which Rhode Island and Connonicut have been particularly surveyed, shewing the true position & bearings of the banks, shoals, rocks &c. as likewise the soundings: To which have been added the several works & batteries raised by the Americans. Taken by order of the principal farmers on Rhode Island.* Created/Published: [London] Engraved & printed for Wm. Faden, 1777. DIGITAL ID: g3772n ar100300 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3772n.ar100300>. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.





**Figure 2-3 Close-up View of Newport, Rhode Island – 1777**

**Source:** Charles Blaskowitz, *A topographical chart of the bay of Narraganset in the province of New England, with all the isles contained therein, among which Rhode Island and Connonicut have been particularly surveyed, shewing the true position & bearings of the banks, shoals, rocks &c. as likewise the soundings: To which have been added the several works & batteries raised by the Americans. Taken by order of the principal farmers on Rhode Island.* Created/Published: [London] Engraved & printed for Wm. Faden, 1777. DIGITAL ID: 3772n ar100300 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3772n.ar100300>. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.





**Figure 2-4 Rhode Island – 1777**

**Source:** A chart of the harbour of Rhode Island and Narraganset Bay. Surveyed in pursuance of directions from the Lords of Trade to His Majesty's Surveyor General for the northern district of North America. Published at the request of The Right Honourable Lord Viscount Howe, created by Des Barres, Joseph F.W., published in London, 1776. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/armhtml/armhome.html>.

**Table 2-1 Vessels Clearing Outward from Rhode Island: 1768-1772**

<b>Destination</b>	<b>Ships</b>
Great Britain	56
Ireland	2
Europe	18
Africa	83
West Indies	967
Newfoundland	39
Quebec	18
Nova Scotia	27
New Hampshire	17
Massachusetts	478
Connecticut	237
New York	313
Jerseys	142
Pennsylvania	118
Maryland	67
Virginia	72
North Carolina	210
South Carolina	71
Georgia	25
East Florida	3
West Florida	11
Bahamas	1
Bermuda	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,975</b>

**Source:** Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 2-2 Rhode Island Tonnage Cleared Outward: 1768-1772**

<b>Destination</b>	<b>Tonnage</b>
Great Britain	4,041
Ireland	230
Europe	675
Africa	3,332
West Indies	33,545
Newfoundland	1,294
Quebec	705
Nova Scotia	643
New Hampshire	730
Massachusetts	14,869
Connecticut	3,741
New York	8,992
Jerseys	3,055
Pennsylvania	4,413
Maryland	1,697
Virginia	2,093
North Carolina	5,833
South Carolina	1,893
Georgia	770
East Florida	75
West Florida	302
Bahamas	30
Bermuda	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>92,958</b>

**Source:** Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 2-3 Vessels Entering Rhode Island: 1768-1772**

<b>Entered From</b>	<b>Ships</b>
Great Britain	34
Ireland	1
Europe	21
Africa	2
West Indies	952
Newfoundland	19
Quebec	47
Nova Scotia	49
New Hampshire	34
Massachusetts	270
Connecticut	282
New York	337
Jerseys	90
Pennsylvania	114
Maryland	53
Virginia	64
North Carolina	139
South Carolina	63
Georgia	20
East Florida	3
West Florida	12
Bahamas	2
Bermuda	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,611</b>

**Source:** Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 2-4 Tonnage Entering Rhode Island 1768-1772**

<b>Entered From</b>	<b>Tonnage</b>
Great Britain	2,465
Ireland	100
Europe	772
Africa	72
West Indies	34,386
Newfoundland	577
Quebec	1,161
Nova Scotia	1,113
New Hampshire	869
Massachusetts	8,840
Connecticut	6,432
New York	8,611
Jerseys	1,860
Pennsylvania	3,850
Maryland	1,256
Virginia	1,766
North Carolina	3,542
South Carolina	1,857
Georgia	558
East Florida	75
West Florida	462
Bahamas	46
Bermuda	55
<b>Total</b>	<b>80,725</b>

**Source:** Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 2-5 Spermaceti Candle Exports to the West Indies: 1768-1772**

<b>Colony</b>	<b>Spermaceti Candles - Pounds</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
Newfoundland	698	>1
Nova Scotia	750	>1
New Hampshire	59,925	4%
Massachusetts	316,220	21%
Rhode Island	949,677	64%
Connecticut	30,019	2%
New York	58,170	4%
New Jersey	1,010	>1
Pennsylvania	55,300	3.70%
Delaware	355	>1
Maryland	250	>1
Virginia	775	>1
North Carolina	1,775	>1
South Carolina	7,360	>1
Georgia	2,150	>1
Florida	200	>1
Bahamas	1,050	>1
Bermuda	325	>1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,486,009</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

Table 2-6 Rhode Island Exports to the West Indies 1768 – 1772

<b>Year</b>	<b>Axes</b>	<b>Apples</b>	<b>Beer</b>
<b>Exported</b>	<b>(Number)</b>	<b>(Barrels)</b>	<b>Barrels</b>
1768	0	504	0
1769	2947	86 (and cyder)	0
1770	819	0	157
1771	828	6	12
1772	1578	127	65
1768-1772	6172	637	234
PPU	assumed .25L		30s
<b>BPS</b>	<b>1034</b>		<b>235</b>
<b>Year</b>	<b>Candles - Spermaceti</b>	<b>Candles – Tallow</b>	<b>Candles - Wax</b>
<b>Exported</b>	<b>(Pounds)</b>	<b>(Pounds)</b>	<b>(Pounds)</b>
1768	152950	2159	0
1769	177837	2750	0
1770	228414	4350	0
1771	251180	5100	10
1772	139296	9095	3836
1768-1772	949677	23454	3846
PPU	1s, 9p	7.25p	
<b>BPS</b>	<b>55,675</b>	<b>474</b>	
<b>Year</b>	<b>Cattle</b>	<b>Horses</b>	<b>Poultry</b>
<b>Exported</b>	<b>(Number)</b>	<b>(Number)</b>	<b>(Dozens)</b>
1768	325	374	925
1769	140	770	787
1770	133	499	1091
1771	54	897	1052
1772	221	750	1097
1768-1772	873	3290	4952
PPU	4.5	15	0.45
<b>BPS</b>	<b>2632</b>	<b>33,064</b>	<b>2228</b>
<b>Year</b>	<b>Carriages</b>	<b>Carriages</b>	<b>Carriages</b>
<b>Exported</b>	<b>Carts</b>	<b>Chairs</b>	<b>Chasis</b>
1768	0	0	0



Table 2-6 (continued)

1769	0	0	0
1770	0	0	8
1771	10	17	6
1772	0	32	9
1768-1772	10	49	23
<b>Year</b>	<b>Furniture</b>	<b>Furniture</b>	<b>Furniture</b>
<b>Exported</b>	<b>Cases of Drawers</b>	<b>Chairs</b>	<b>Desks</b>
1768	0	0	0
1769	0	12	162
1770	0	42	89
1771	0	84	156
1772	2	102	247
1768-1772	2	240	654
<b>Year</b>	<b>Fish - Dried</b>	<b>Fish - Pickled</b>	<b>Furniture</b>
<b>Exported</b>	<b>(Quintals)</b>	<b>(Barrels)</b>	<b>Tables</b>
1768	14210	11619.75	0
1769	12579	13454	70
1770	16613	11578	51
1771	18214	14902.75	71
1772	24324	11661	87
1768-1772	85940	63215.5	279
PPU	0.568	0.75	
<b>BPS</b>	<b>48,814</b>	<b>47,411.63</b>	
<b>Year</b>	<b>Pitch</b>	<b>Tar</b>	<b>Turpentine</b>
<b>Exported</b>	<b>(Barrels)</b>	<b>(Barrels)</b>	<b>(Barrels)</b>
1768	86	270	47
1769	89	292	89
1770	37	284	57
1771	2	119	8
1772	0	213	5

Table 2-6 (continued)

1768-1772	214	1178	206
PPU	0.349	0.3	0.4
<b>BPS</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>353</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>Year</b>	<b>Potatoes</b>	<b>Tobacco</b>	
<b>Exported</b>	<b>(Bushels)</b>	<b>(Pounds)</b>	
1768	0	1360	
1769	680	0	
1770	899	0	
1771	518	0	
1772	1091	1817	
1768-1772	3188	3177	
PPU	0.03	4p	
<b>BPS</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>35</b>	
<b>Year</b>	<b>Oil</b>	<b>Oil</b>	<b>Beef &amp; Pork</b>
<b>Exported</b>	<b>(Tons)</b>	<b>(Gallons)</b>	<b>(Barrels)</b>
1768	66	152	1415
1769	91	27	130 tons, 2cwt
1770	66	40	158.9.0
1771	12	220	1338.75
1772	32	16	1432 bar
1768-1772	267	455	2753.75
PPU	15L	0.059	2.12L
<b>BPS</b>	<b>4005</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>5852</b>
<b>Year</b>	<b>Tallow</b>	<b>Tallow</b>	<b>Boards - Plank</b>
<b>Exported</b>	<b>(Pounds)</b>	<b>(Barrels)</b>	<b>(Feet)</b>
1768	1060	69.5	1742695
1769	14100	0	1439000
1770	11710	0	2215500
1771	0	0	2080000
1772	0	0	2106750
1768-1772	26870	69.5	9583945
PPU	5.5p	5.5p/lb, 100lb-I bar	
<b>BPS</b>	<b>412</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>13138</b>

Table 2-6 (continued)

<b>Year</b>	<b>Hoops</b>	<b>Oars</b>	<b>Oak Plank</b>
<b>Exported</b>	<b>(Number)</b>	<b>(Feet)</b>	<b>(Feet)</b>
1768	1375640	10240	21700
1769	1094750	13740	36000
1770	1355750	2450	1500
1771	1309750	3000	0
1772	1824250	3276	4000
1768-1772	6960140	32706	63200
PPU	54s/1000	3p	5s/100ft
<b>BPS</b>	<b>20984</b>	<b>274</b>	<b>176</b>
<b>Year</b>	<b>Bread &amp; Flour</b>	<b>Bread &amp; Flour</b>	<b>Cheese</b>
<b>Exported</b>	<b>(Tons)</b>	<b>(Barrels)</b>	<b>(Pounds)</b>
1768	6	5422	30894
1769	1056 tons, 8 cwt, 2q	0	35310
1770	1342.1.0	0	37404
1771	994.19.00	0	71678
1772	644t, 11cwt, 0	0	76372
1768-1772	4042 T, 39 cwt, 2q	5422	251658
PPU	11L/T - McC		5p
<b>BPS</b>	<b>44462</b>		<b>3512</b>
<b>Year</b>	<b>Indian Corn</b>	<b>Onions</b>	<b>Butter</b>
<b>Exported</b>	<b>(Bushels)</b>	<b>(Bushels)</b>	<b>(Pounds)</b>
1768	2651	46	88 (F'kins?)
1769	2583	114	0
1770	1383	20	10400
1771	7414	73	19630
1772	2900	20	16050
1768-1772	16931	273	46080
PPU	3s	4p - assumed	8p
<b>BPS</b>	<b>2836</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1029</b>
<b>Year</b>	<b>Bricks</b>		

Table 2-6 (continued)

<b>Exported</b>	<b>(N)</b>		
1768	405500		
1769	310100		
1770	355400		
1771	259800		
1772	310900		
1768-1772	1641700		
PPU	3L/1000 - Tudway		
<b>BPS</b>	<b>3300</b>		
<b>Year</b>	<b>Shook Hogsheads</b>	<b>Staves</b>	
<b>Exported</b>	<b>(Number)</b>	<b>(Number)</b>	
1768	5987	783680	
1769	9047	522992	
1770	7167	527014	
1771	9223	700750	
1772	12168	1084500	
1768-1772	43592	3618936	
PPU	2s/9p	50s/1000	
<b>BPS</b>	<b>5963</b>	<b>10103</b>	
<b>Year</b>	<b>Onions</b>		
<b>Exported</b>	<b>(Bunches)</b>		
1768	59080		
1769	115450 (ropes)		
1770	151863		
1771	83248		
1772	73195 (ropes)		
Total	188645 - ropes, 294191 - bunches		
PPU	3.5p/rope, 6p/bunch		
<b>BPS</b>	<b>1843-r, 4927-b</b>		
<b>Year</b>	<b>Hoops - Tress</b>	<b>Shingles</b>	
<b>Exported</b>	<b>(Sets)</b>	<b>(Number)</b>	
1768	0	1947800	

Table 2-6 (continued)

1769	0	1417250	
1770	28	2238750	
1771	25	1972250	
1772	120	2194000	
Total	173	9770050	
PPU		21s/1000	
<b>BPS</b>		<b>11455</b>	
<b>Year</b>	<b>Oats</b>	<b>Peas</b>	
<b>Exported</b>	<b>(Bushels)</b>	<b>(Bushels)</b>	
1768	0	0	
1769	0	58	
1770	300	67	
1771	0	26	
1772	342	68	
Total	642	219	
PPU	1s, 6p	0.2	
<b>BPS</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>44</b>	
<b>Year</b>	<b>Lard</b>	<b>Wine - Azores</b>	
<b>Exported</b>	<b>pounds</b>	<b>(Tons)</b>	
1768	0	240 (gallons)	
1769	0	1 T, 108 g	
1770	0	0	
1771	37640		
1772	12550		
Total	50190	0	
PPU	6p		
<b>BPS</b>	<b>840</b>	<b>re-export n/i</b>	
<b>Year</b>	<b>Sheep</b>	<b>Hogs</b>	
<b>Exported</b>	<b>(Number)</b>	<b>(Number)</b>	
1768	5346	0	
1769	4044	0	
1770	3633	0	
1771	0	2966	
1772	2798	0	

Table 2-6 (continued)

Total	15821	2966	
PPU	0.35	0.35	
<b>BPS</b>	<b>5537</b>	<b>1038</b>	
<b>Misc</b>	<b>House Frames</b>		
1769	1		
1770	2		
1772	1		
Total	4		
PPU	20L/ea. - McC		
<b>BPS</b>	<b>80</b>		
	<b>Shoes - Pairs</b>		
1768	457		
1770	371		
1772	130		
Total	958		
PPU	.125 bps		
<b>BPS</b>	<b>120</b>		

**Source:** Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK. **Note:** BPS = British Pound Sterling, PPU = Price per unit. For prices, see Appendices.

**Table 2-7 Rhode Island Coastal Trade 1768-1772: Commodities and Values**  
(all values expressed in British Pound Sterling)

<b>Item</b>	<b>Value Imported</b>	<b>Value Exported</b>
<b>Anchors</b>	178	195
<b>Ashes - Pearl</b>	80.4	0
<b>Ashes - Pot</b>	522.6	160.8
<b>Beaver Skins or Furs</b>	752	72
<b>Beer</b>	536	5279
<b>Beeswax</b>	397	68
<b>Bread &amp; Flour</b>	69,160	6,792
<b>Bricks</b>	141	359
<b>Butter</b>	7,643	1,140.50
<b>Candles - Spermaceti</b>	769	29,982
<b>Candles - Tallow</b>	203	5,280
<b>Cattle</b>	9	274.5
<b>Cheese</b>	171	10,366
<b>Chocolate</b>	601	3,782
<b>Cocoa</b>	695	1,094
<b>Coffee</b>	271	457
<b>Cordage</b>	9,547.50	3,358
<b>Cotton</b>	852	676
<b>Feathers</b>	724	10
<b>Fish - Dried</b>	47,665	3,302
<b>Fish - Pickled</b>	5,389	6,031
<b>Flax</b>	3,175	733
<b>Flaxseed</b>	19.5	5781

**Table 2-7 (continued)**

<b>Hay</b>	33	174
<b>Hemp</b>	2,422	409
<b>Hides</b>	2,817	2,293
<b>Hoops</b>	946	90
<b>Horns - Ox</b>	402	279
<b>Horses</b>	1,025	1,357
<b>Indian Corn</b>	17,369	3,331
<b>Indigo</b>	8,016	1,051
<b>Iron - Bar</b>	7,445	3,328
<b>Iron - Cast</b>	264	7,111.50
<b>Iron - Pig</b>	4,440	2737
<b>Leather</b>	3,123	256
<b>Lime</b>	2,942	34,693
<b>Mahogany</b>	647	268
<b>Masts</b>	349	5.46
<b>Meal</b>	36	370
<b>Molasses</b>	757	56,867
<b>Oak Board and Plank</b>	32	43
<b>Oars</b>	8,861	1,168
<b>Oats</b>	63	420
<b>Oil - Blubber</b>	12,480	645
<b>Onions - Ropes</b>	1,721	1,569
<b>Peas</b>	831	126
<b>Pimento</b>	33	202



Table 2-7 (continued)

<b>Pine Board and Plank</b>	16,375	677
<b>Pitch</b>	1,086	216
<b>Pork &amp; Beef</b>	20,247	1,254
<b>Potatoes</b>	108	542
<b>Poultry</b>	0.9	42
<b>Rice</b>	10,062	1,214
<b>Rosin</b>	262.5	24
<b>Rum - New England</b>	910	71,959
<b>Rum - West Indian</b>	2,123	63,530
<b>Rye</b>	907	38
<b>Salt</b>	5,255	2,169
<b>Sheep</b>	49	826
<b>Shingles</b>	5,760	183
<b>Shoes</b>	92	519
<b>Shook Hogsheads</b>	80	171
<b>Slaves</b>	375	1,149
<b>Soap - Hard</b>	102	887
<b>Soap - Soft</b>	0	9
<b>Staves</b>	4,428	368.5
<b>Sugar - Brown</b>	1,346	11,733
<b>Sugar - Loaf</b>	355	2,802
<b>Tallow and Lard</b>	752	153
<b>Tar</b>	4,676	309
<b>Timber - Oak</b>	9	29

**Table 2-7 (continued)**

<b>Timber - Pine</b>	82	44
<b>Tobacco</b>	246	351
<b>Turpentine</b>	22,846	4,291
<b>Wheat</b>	109	134
<b>Yards</b>	650	549
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>326,080.4</b>	<b>370,157.76</b>

**Source:** Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK for commodities and Chart 6 for prices and values.

**Table 2-8 Value of Rhode Island Exports: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Export Trade Area – Excluding Slave Trade</b>	<b>Value - £</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
Coastal	378,563	45.8%
Great Britain	50,967	6.2%
Southern Europe and the Wine Islands	5,079	>1%
West Indies	334,104	40.4%
Africa	56,653	6.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>825,366</b>	<b>99%</b>
<b>Export Trade Area – Including Slave Trade</b>	<b>Value - £</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
Coastal - Without West Indian Products	135,535	11.4%
Coastal - West Indian Products	243,028	20.4%
Great Britain	50,967	4.2%
Southern Europe and the Wine Islands	5,079	>1%
West Indies	334,104	28%
Africa	56,653	4.7%
Slave Trade	364,162	30.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,189,528</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Note:** All of the above are my estimates based on Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK for commodities. For prices, see Appendix A and A.1. Figures do not equal 100% due to rounding.

### **3.0 “THE PRINCIPAL TRADE OF THIS COLONY IS TO THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS”<sup>1</sup>: CONNECTICUT AND THE WEST INDIES**

In 1774, Connecticut’s governor, Jonathan Trumbull, surveyed the trading dynamics of the colony and arrived at one conclusion: “The Principle Trade of this Colony is to the West India Islands.”<sup>2</sup> This included not only the British islands, but “A Trade with the French, and Dutch West Indies.” In addition, the report provided a list of the most important export commodities, particularly those bound for the “foreign West Indies,” listing, as this chapter will explain, the most important one first. “Those vessels that go from hence to the French and Dutch Plantations,” Trumbull wrote, “carry horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, provisions, and lumber.” These ships brought back in exchange, “molasses, cocoa, cotton, and some sugar” with one exception – “from the Dutch plantations, Bills of Exchange.” There were used to pay off merchants debts in England, accrued through the importation of merchandise, “the sorts are almost all that are useful or ornamental in common life,” which were imported directly through the coastal trade with Boston, New York and Rhode Island rather than from bilateral trade with English ports.

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<sup>1</sup> *Connecticut Colonial Records*, Volume 14 (Hartford: 1887), 498. Hereafter abbreviated as *CTCR*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* All the quotes in this paragraph are from this source. Trumbull noted a few exceptions to this pattern, “now and then a vessel to Ireland with Flaxseed, and to England with Lumber and Potashes, and a few to Gibraltar and Barbary.”

This chapter explores the specifics behind Trumbull's report by examining the available customs data for Connecticut, which covers only the years between 1768 and 1772.<sup>3</sup> To symbolize the centrality of horse exports to the West Indies, the first and most important commodity Trumbull listed, we begin with the story of the *Fox*. Then, in order to historically situate that story, the chapter introduces the historical development of Connecticut, its maritime dimensions, and population growth. The results will demonstrate that the patterns Trumbull identified in 1774 had been present for a century, yet when he wrote there had been a recent and dramatic shift upward in the order of magnitude. Having provided an overview, this chapter then chronicles the existing historiography, which largely either ignores or downplays the West Indian trade. The chapter contends that customs data prove Trumbull completely correct in his assessment.

To verify Trumbull's claim requires probing the specifics of the trade which officially was organized around two ports, New Haven and New London. Customs agents recorded the number of ships clearing and entering, their destinations and tonnage, and cargoes. This data is analyzed and then assessed by using new pricing data to estimate the relative value of exports to each major export region. The most important commodity sent from Connecticut was livestock, especially horses. The chapter profiles the *Fox*, a ship bound from Connecticut laden with horses, to illustrate and exemplify this trade pattern. Horses, along with other livestock, provided the essential and primary power sources keeping the plantation complex running. They drove the sugar mills, transported goods and people back and forth from the plantations to the docks and wharves. Yet as the chapter explores, as important as horses and livestock were as monetary exports, other Connecticut ships were loaded with two other low-value, high-volume

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<sup>3</sup> Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

commodities, both food stocks, for export to the plantation complex – onions and dairy products. The section on cargoes details these goods, emphasizing the labor process used by the “dairymaids” – women whose specialized household-based production of cheese and butter has largely gone unrecognized. Before analyzing the specifics of this productive sector, on land, we shift back to the sea, and go onboard the *Fox*, one of “Those vessels that go from hence to the French and Dutch Plantations (and) carry horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, provisions, and lumber.”<sup>4</sup>

On a cold January 4, 1771, thirty-three year old Captain Dudley Saltonstall found that the cargo on board the schooner *Fox* was complete. Though bound for the West Indies like the vast majority of ships leaving Connecticut’s ports, he was no ordinary Captain but rather the grandson of the former governor, Gurdon Saltonstall.<sup>5</sup> Dudley was born in New London, Connecticut on September 8, 1738, though ironically he would die in the same place as his destination that year, the West Indies, some twenty-five years later.<sup>6</sup> On this particular January day in 1771 however, all looked bright. He commanded a ship for the merchants Thomas and David Mumford and prospects for sale of the varied cargo were good, as there was always demand in the West Indies for what the *Fox* carried.

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<sup>4</sup> Governor Trumbull, in *CTCR*, Volume 14, 499.

<sup>5</sup> Gurdon Saltonstall was born in 1666 and was serving as Governor at the time of his death in 1724. For more biographical details see Frances Manwaring Caulkins, *History of New London, Connecticut* (New London: H.D. Utley, 1895), 382-383.

<sup>6</sup> Dudley Saltonstall’s life took a downward turn after the start of the American Revolution. Commanding a failed American naval assault against British posts in Penobscot Maine, (then part of Massachusetts), Saltonstall was dismissed from the navy for his failure. He turned to privateering and continued to engage in trade with the West Indies until his death. His passing was only tersely noted in one line amongst the numerous advertisements in the July 28, 1796 issue of the *Connecticut Gazette* which stated, “Died, at the Mole, Capt. Dudley Saltonstall, of this city.” The mole referred to the port on the French West Indian island of Saint Domingue. For brief biographical details see *Records and Papers of the New London Historical Society*, Part Four, Volume I: 1890-1894 (New London: New London Historical Society, 1893), 65-66.

Below decks in the hold were barrels of food obtained from Connecticut farmers, including fish, onions, beef, pork, cheese, corn, and oats.<sup>7</sup> Alongside these were wooden products like hoops, hogshead staves, pine boards, and shaken hogsheads, courtesy of the men working the many sawmills dotting the Connecticut, Thames, and other rivers across the colony (See Figures 5-8). The cargo also contained building materials such as shingles and bricks. There were even a few barrels of Spermaceti oil. However, it was the items kept on the top deck that would constitute the most valuable part of the cargo, in monetary terms. The fourteen horses corralled in a make-shift wooden stall comprised the largest collective items of value, worth £307 and accounting for 46% of the total value of the entire cargo. Also on board were 11 oxen, worth another eighty-seven pounds. Combined, the livestock on board the *Fox* was worth almost 59% of the total value of the entire cargo.<sup>8</sup>

Having seen to the loading of the cargo, and ready to make sail for the West Indies, Captain Saltonstall faced the formidable maritime challenges of the Long Island sound. Many a man, and many a ship, had been claimed by her tides and her rocky islands jutting outward like jagged teeth. The crew, no less than the captain, of the *Fox* wanted to avoid the fate of men like Captain William Douglass, who, on a return voyage from the West Indies crashed his Brig on the rocks at the east end of Fisher's Island, located off the southern coast of Connecticut (See Maps). Douglass lost his ship and cargo but he and the crew apparently survived.<sup>9</sup> As countless references in the *Connecticut Courant* and *New London* make clear, they were lucky. The area between Montauk Point, which juts off the edge of Long Island, and Fisher's Island, off the coast

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<sup>7</sup> "Invoice of Cargo Shipped by David Mumford on Board the Schooner Fox, Dudley Saltonstall Commander," Miscellaneous Shipping Papers, New London Historical Society, New London, Connecticut. All values expressed are in British Pound Sterling, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. All the values are directly from the invoice.

<sup>9</sup> *Connecticut Courant*, November 8, 1766.

of Connecticut, was treacherous for any and all mariners (See Figure 7). In addition, ship captains had to watch for the equally hazardous Race Rock Reefs, which lay southwest of Fisher's Island and only eight miles from New London. It was through this dangerous passage that men like Saltonstall and his crew had to navigate successfully, aided by a lighthouse erected in 1768 in New London Harbor, as they made their way east, out of Long Island Sound, before turning southward for the West Indies and the heart of the plantation complex.

To improve the dangerous coastline for safer shipping voyages the Connecticut Assembly supported an improvement to assist ships. The lighthouse which helped steer Saltonstall away from danger along the reef towards his West Indian destination was the result of a petition campaign led by a group of merchants heavily invested in the success of voyages like those of the *Fox*. Indeed, the owner of the *Fox* was one of eight men who successfully petitioned the Assembly in October 1760 for permission to raise a lottery to fund the building of a lighthouse in New London.<sup>10</sup> A year later they had "built and completed" the lighthouse, but requested, and received, public reimbursement. Although many individuals were impacted, beyond the elite merchants at the top, by maritime success, the lottery failed to gather enough public support owing to the timing of the venture. The attempt to raise money occurred during the Seven Years War (1754-1763), as France and Britain waged a worldwide contest for imperial spoils. The existing records fail to note the names of the workers who actually "built and completed" the lighthouse that aided so many ships as they ventured beyond the Connecticut shores for the slave plantations in the Caribbean.

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<sup>10</sup> The eight men were Gurdon Saltonstall (the second son of the governor with the same name), Joseph Coit, Nathaniel Shaw, Jeremiah Miller, David Gardiner, Joseph Chew, Thomas Mumford, Jr., Pygan Adams and Matthew Talcott. *CTCR*, Volume 11, 589.



The *Fox* left the port of New London, which was situated on the edge of the Thames River.<sup>11</sup> The largest port in Connecticut was New London, where over two-thirds of all the ships entered and cleared outward.<sup>12</sup> One observer described the river as a “long navigable creek of about 14 miles” which had two “principal branches” flowing into it; the Quinebaug and the Shetucket Rivers.<sup>13</sup> Anyone traveling up the Thames River encountered the town of Norwich, which acted as the “barricader for all the easterly parts of Connecticut.”<sup>14</sup> Part of Saltonstall’s cargo may have come from suppliers in Norwich, a community where some of the wealthiest estates were located by 1771.<sup>15</sup> All captains had to take care, since the distance between the mouth of the harbor to the town was three miles, the breadth of the river only three-quarters of a mile, perhaps more in some places, with a depth ranging from five to six fathoms (thirty to thirty-six feet deep) but with a clear bottom.<sup>16</sup> The natural endowments made New London harbor a prime location for ships, since “as far up at one mile above the town (was) entirely secure and commodious for large ships.”<sup>17</sup> However, despite the prominence of New London as the primary maritime site for ships entering and leaving, the colony’s largest river system lay elsewhere.

The major waterway in the colony was the Connecticut River, which still remains part of a larger watershed.<sup>18</sup> This is the largest river ecosystem in New England, encompassing approximately 11,000 square miles, explaining perhaps, observers who described the colony as

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<sup>11</sup> Colonial officials also referred to the river as the “New London River.” See *CTCR*, Volume 9, 594.

<sup>12</sup> From Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK. I will elaborate on this later in the chapter.

<sup>13</sup> *CTCR*, Volume 9, 594.

<sup>14</sup> William Douglass, *A Summary, Historical and Political*, Volume II, Part I (Boston 1751), 190.

<sup>15</sup> Only New Haven had more. See the list in the *CTCR*, Volume 13, 519.

<sup>16</sup> *CTCR*, Volume 14, 497.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, 497.

<sup>18</sup> A watershed is the landed area which drains into a waterbody. The general environmental information is from <http://www.mass.gov/envir/water/connecticut/connecticut.htm>, and the website of the Connecticut River Watershed Council; <http://www.ctriver.org/>.

“well-watered.”<sup>19</sup> The headwaters are located at the fourth Connecticut lake near the Canadian border in what was then disputed territory, claimed by the governments of both the New York and New Hampshire colonies.<sup>20</sup> The river itself “carves a sinuous, shimmering pathway” from this northern beginning originating 1,880 feet above sea level, eventually winding down some 410 miles before finally emptying into the Atlantic.<sup>21</sup> Peering at a map one can clearly understand why one observer described the watershed as “dendric, leaflike in its shape, with veins running down valleys from the upland margins and converging at the stem.”<sup>22</sup> (See Figures 5-7). Many important secondary rivers flowed into the Connecticut, like the meandering eighty-one mile long Farmington River, which in turn is part of a larger watershed originating in southwestern Massachusetts.<sup>23</sup> Other, smaller rivers flowing into the Connecticut include the Scantic and Hockanum.

With the existence of so many viable waterways, and the need to establish reliable means for crossing them, ferry services operated on many of the major rivers. For example, farmers in New Milford who needed to cross the Housatonic River in Litchfield County might take Keeler’s Ferry over the river. The “ferriage” depended on their cargo: “three pence half penny for a man and a horse, two pence for a footman, one penny, half-penny for every single horse or neat kine, and one half-penny for every swine or sheep.”<sup>24</sup> Elsewhere in the colony farmers, merchants or

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<sup>19</sup> Douglass, *A Summary, Historical and Political*, 190.

<sup>20</sup> Territorial disputes fill the pages of colonial state papers for New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York and Connecticut.

<sup>21</sup> Quote from [http://www.ctriver.org/about\\_river/index.html](http://www.ctriver.org/about_river/index.html). In addition, see the “Connecticut River Valley” entry by John T. Cumbler, in *The Encyclopedia of New England*, ed. Burt Feintuch and David H. Watters (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 556-557.

<sup>22</sup> Nathaniel Tripp, *Confluence* (Hanover, Steerforth Press, 2005), 13. Tripp’s poetic and hauntingly beautiful reminder concerning the river is worth remembering; “This river begins, as all rivers to, with a drop of rain, a wisp of fog. It gathers on stone, amid fern, and weeps from the branches of wind-shaped spruce. The movement downhill is silent at first here where the bare bones of the earth meet the sky.” Tripp, 1.

<sup>23</sup> [http://www.frwa.org/river\\_facts.html](http://www.frwa.org/river_facts.html)

<sup>24</sup> *CTCR*, Volume 14, 40.

their agents desiring to cross the Mystic River might take Packer's Ferry, which in 1769 charged two pence for "man, horse and load," three farthings for a footman, led horse – penny farthing, ox or neat kind, two pence, sheep, hogs and goats, one farthing per head. In addition, this particular ferry also serviced wheel-carriages.<sup>25</sup> Ferries operated in the Atlantic port cities as well. In 1772, Jesse Leavenworth planned on running a ferry in New Haven "from Ferry Point to the East Haven shore." Leavenworth was instructed by the Colonial Assembly that his fares must remain low, and match those charged by the Saybrook Ferry, which probably operated at the mouth of the Connecticut River and carried people, livestock and goods back and forth to Lyme.<sup>26</sup>

As the demand for water transportation increased, so did the demand by those wishing to use the service of more working ferries. Sometimes even entire towns got involved. For example, Josiah Bissell, Esquire, and the rest of the inhabitants of the town of Windsor in the county of Hartford, presented a memorial dated May 6, 1772 for permission to start a ferry in the town to cross the Connecticut River, "a little south of the ferry called Scantick Ferry." Thus, despite the presence of the Scantick Ferry, the citizens of Windsor demanded additional service. They received permission, though they had to make sure the watercraft was "a good tight boat sufficient both for largeness, strength, and steadiness, for the safe transportation of passengers, their horses, carriages, and other creatures, well furnished with suitable oars and other implements necessary of that service."<sup>27</sup>

Requests for additional ferry services came from other towns as well. In January 1769, Oliver Tousey, a Selectman from Newtown in Fairfield County, along with "others," delivered a

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<sup>25</sup> *CTCR*, Volume 13, 130.

<sup>26</sup> *CTCR*, Volume 14, 49.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, 61.

memorial to the Colonial Assembly requesting a highway from Newtown to the landing at Derby Ferry in Stratford since “it is impossible to transport in the old road.” Moreover, those wishing to bring their produce to market had to travel twenty miles. The new road, they argued, would reduce this to fourteen.<sup>28</sup> The request for additional roadways was unsurprising, given the state of the only major thoroughfare.

The only major roadway, which paralleled Connecticut’s Atlantic coastline, was atrocious in many locations. Traveling from Windham to the Hartford Ferry, the Marquis De Chastellux noted how the journey was “over a very inconvenient road, a great part of which forms a narrow causeway through a marshy wood.”<sup>29</sup> He took many ferry rides in his travels across America, including several in New England, and noted the uniformity among the vessels: a “flat boat with oars.”<sup>30</sup> Traveling from east to west across Connecticut he noted the tough road conditions first hand, which undoubtedly help to push residents towards water travel whenever possible. Commenting on the road from Scituate to Voluntown he found the overall conditions “execrable; one is perpetually mounting and descending, and always on the most rugged roads.”<sup>31</sup>

Ironically, had the Marquis traveled by boat up or down the Connecticut River he would have found danger rather than discomfort around the opening toward the Atlantic. This circumstance led powerful merchants from several towns, including future Continental Congress member and Diplomat Silas Deane, to combine efforts in petitioning the General Assembly for

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<sup>28</sup> *CTCR*, Volume 13, 136.

<sup>29</sup> Marquis De Chastellux, *Travels in North America*, translated (New York, 1928), 28.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 28.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, 28.

improvements for infrastructure to aid maritime commerce.<sup>32</sup> Meeting at Hartford, located about forty miles up river, in October, 1772, the Assembly reviewed the multi-town memorial from “inhabitants of the towns lying upon and adjoining the Connecticut River.” Their concerns were serious, “the navigation into and out of said river is difficult, expensive and dangerous, by reason of bars and shoals of sand not sufficiently described and known at the mouth of said river” and they proposed a simple remedy, “that buoys and water-marks may be erected and maintained on said bars and shoals, so as to render easy, safe and cheap, the navigation into and out of the river.”<sup>33</sup> Initially funds from a lottery, totaling 337 pounds, were insufficient to cover the expenses of their maritime improvements so in May, 1773 the Assembly authorized raising the amount collected from lotteries to 527 pounds.<sup>34</sup>

In sum, the clamor for infrastructure which ranged across the colony, from small towns petitions signed by “sundry others,” to more established, well-connected merchants, and particularly targeted improving maritime commerce was successful. This ushered in a wide array of actions: the erection of lighthouses, the building and upkeep of docks and wharves, the draining and clearing of waterways of bars and shoals, license ferries, etc. All was necessary to support a growing and moving population – especially one with a rising maritime commercial fleet.

The “principle trade of this colony” to the plantation complex, whether horses or agricultural products, required ships – men to build them and “seafaring men,” to sail them. Local shipwrights operating in yards at New London and New Haven had, by 1774, produced a

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<sup>32</sup> Listed members, along with Deane, were Matthew Talcott, Richard Alsop, George Phillips, Samuel Olcott, and John Chenevard, though there were “others” not identified in the surviving Assembly records. *CTCR*, Volume 13, 383. Ironically, like Captain Saltonstall, Deane would die in shame and exile overseas though in England, not the West Indies, on September 22, 1789. See George L. Clark, *Silas Deane, A Connecticut leader in the American Revolution* (New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1913).

<sup>33</sup> *CTCR*, Volume 13, 383-384.

<sup>34</sup> *CTCR*, Volume 14, 96-7.

fleet size Trumbull estimated at least one hundred and eighty vessels (owned by locals alone), with a carrying capacity of 10,317 tons.<sup>35</sup> These ships were manned by 1,162 “seafaring men,” not including the additional twenty plus “coasting vessels that employ about ninety seamen.” The maritime commercial forces present in Connecticut by 1774 had risen dramatically since the previous inventory in 1762. A mere dozen years ago the local fleet numbered seventy-six, with a total of 6,790 tons, and was operated by 601 “seafaring men.”

Yet the magnitude of trade that Trumbull outlined was slow in developing, even though the colonists put their new dwellings in coastal locales – they were preparing and expecting to use the water to facilitate trade. Indeed, the initial settlers who arrived from Massachusetts in 1634 founded the towns of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor alongside the Connecticut River.<sup>36</sup> By 1680, the settlers had established twenty-six “small towns,” and continued to plant nearly all of them along the major rivers of the colony, or, more frequently, along the Atlantic coastline, in which trading opportunities beckoned to the sounds of the sea. For example, at “Guilford, Milford, Norwalk, Stratford, Stamford, vessels of about 30 or 40 tons could come in” since all of these Atlantic port towns possessed “pretty good tide harbors.”<sup>37</sup> New Haven’s harbor, which became in the eighteenth century the site of the second official customs port, supposedly could take ships “three hundred tons or bigger.” Similar claims were made for Fairfield, and though customs records detail little, if any, evidence of vessels that size docking there the message from the Connecticut colonists was clear regarding trading opportunities.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> *CTCT*, Volume 14, 598. The subsequent quotes in the paragraph are from this source.

<sup>36</sup> The separate New Haven Colony was a dismal failure, like its more now famously known counterpart in Massachusetts, Plymouth. And, like Plymouth, New Haven was absorbed by its’ bigger neighbor. Thus, New Haven became part of the Connecticut colony in 1665. See Virginia DeJohn Anderson, “New England in the Seventeenth Century,” in *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume 1, The Origins of Empire*, Nicholas Canny, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 200-204, for a quick summary.

<sup>37</sup> *CTCR*, Volume 3, 297.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, 297. The report made the same claim for the harbor at Fairfield.

In terms of trade a report in 1680 noted two major areas: coastal links with Boston, and New York, and an overseas market based in “Barbados, Jamaica, and other Caribia Islands.”<sup>39</sup> All three locales were sent various items, including “wheat, peas, rye, barley, Indian corn, pork, beef, wool, hemp, flax, cider, perry, tar, deal boards, pipe staves and horses.” In Boston these were exchanged for clothing but imports from New York were unspecified. As for the enslaved Africans in the plantation complex, through their labor power ships returning to Guilford, Milford, Norwalk, Stamford, New Haven, and New London carried back “sugar, cotton, wool and rum.”<sup>40</sup> The last item, Governor Leete noted, was especially important “to refresh the spirits of such as labor in the extreme heat or cold.”<sup>41</sup>

No doubt more than a few shipwrights had their spirits refreshed by slave produced rum as they crafted timber into hulks for the sea. In 1680, the trade was conducted through locally owned and operated ships, since the report noted that “it is rare that any vessels come to trade with us” besides a few from the aforementioned ports of Boston and New York. In all, at this time there were twenty-seven ships owned by local Connecticut men and they ranged in size and tonnage, though most were small.<sup>42</sup> Yet, if the trading networks were still modest, so was the population, eight or nine thousand people by 1665, rising to 30,000 by 1701.<sup>43</sup>

Initially, there was slow population growth for the next thirty years, as the number of inhabitants grew to only 38,000 by 1730, but then the colony experienced rapid expansion, almost doubling its size to 71,000 by 1749.<sup>44</sup> Another large gain, in which all of the counties saw

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 296-297.

<sup>40</sup> *CTCR*, Volume 3, 296-297. The report did note an occasional voyage to the Wine Islands of Madeira and Fayal.

<sup>41</sup> *CTCR*, Volume 3, 308.

<sup>42</sup> *CTCR*, Volume 3, 299.

<sup>43</sup> Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 47-49.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 47-49.

substantial population increases, occurred between the Censuses of 1756 and 1774.<sup>45</sup> The total population rose from 130,611 to 197,856, a gain of 51% in just fourteen years. The overall white population rose from 126,975 to 191,392 while the African-American population rose 68%, increasing from 3,019 in 1756 to 5,085 by 1774. Indians increased their presence as well, rising from 617 (all of whom recorded living in New London County in 1756) to 1,363 in the entire colony by 1774.<sup>46</sup> There was a significant population of white children in the colony, 61,164 in all, accounting for 31% of the total population. By contrast, the 4,176 men and women over the age of seventy barely accounted for 2% of the total population. Yet the story of Connecticut's rapid population growth in the period between 1756 and 1774 was concurrent with the growth and development of infrastructure to support maritime commerce, principally with the West Indies. Now, we turn to examine the magnitudes of that trade.

Connecticut's West Indian trade must be explored through the "Inspector General's Customs Reports, 1768-1772," which constitute the only complete data series.<sup>47</sup> Only through such an examination can the importance and the impact of the West Indian slave economy for Connecticut be measured against the trading levels with other regions colonists traded with like Southern Europe, England, Canada, Africa, or even other mainland American colonies, what contemporaries referred to as "the coastal trade." This data will illuminate characteristics of the export trade which have frequently been ignored in larger, more synthetic volumes examining New England's colonial economy or even works explicitly framed as "Atlantic history,"

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<sup>45</sup> Both are reprinted in *CTCR*, Volume 14, 483-492. All the figures in the paragraph are derived from them.

<sup>46</sup> Whether this increase arose from better collection efforts or the actual increase of Indians living within the formal boundaries of Connecticut remains unknown. Governor Trumbull's report indicated that an overwhelmingly number of the Indians were either servants or slaves who "dwell in English families." The rest were able to maintain some small measure of autonomy, "in small tribes in various places." Regardless of their locale, the report oozed with contempt for Indians as a people and their "inclination to Idleness."

<sup>47</sup> These are the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.



typically by subsuming it within the larger category of “Northern Colonies” or “New England.”<sup>48</sup> This tendency obscures the specific trading practices crucial to understanding the nature of the colony’s economic development, especially its dependence upon the Atlantic slave economy of the West Indies.

The historiography of Connecticut’s export trade has emphasized the domestic coastal links with New York – often to the exclusion of overseas links with the plantation complex. For example, the most authoritative synthesis on Atlantic trade, *The Economy of British North America*, barely mentions the colony, and when reference was made, incorrectly noted the real linkages. John McCusker and Russell Menard claimed that Connecticut was “drawn by degrees into New York’s sphere,” without providing evidence to support this claim. They then ignored the role of overseas trade, which is rather strange given their overall emphasis that “trade made life possible” in the American colonies.<sup>49</sup> Later, they repeated the charge, asserting that “after 1750, the whole of Connecticut, until then economically a part of New England, came to be associated increasingly with New York.”<sup>50</sup> Recent work by Cathy Matson lends considerable

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<sup>48</sup> Studies that survey New England, but largely exclude Connecticut include Margaret Newell, “Economy,” in Daniel Vickers, ed. *A Companion to Colonial America* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 172-193; Stephen Hornsby *British Atlantic, American Frontier* (Lebanon, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2005), 73-88, 126-148; Marc Egnal, *New World Economies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 46-77; David Richardson, “Slavery, Trade and Economic Growth in Eighteenth Century New England,” in Barbara L. Solow, ed. *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 237-264; John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British North America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 91-111; T.H. Breen and Timothy Hall, *Colonial America in an Atlantic World* (New York: Pearson, 2004). Older “classic” works also possess this characteristic: Richard Pares, *Yankees and Creoles* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1956); J.F. Shepherd and G.M. Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972), Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the Atlantic Economies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), 264-287, Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675-1740* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), especially 55-80.

<sup>49</sup> McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British North America, 1607-1789*, 87.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, 190. Interestingly, their evidence for this rests on a single dissertation, Gaspare John Saldino’s “The Economic Revolution in Eighteenth Century Connecticut” (PhD, University of Wisconsin, 1964), which I discuss in detail below.

evidentiary weight to connecting Connecticut's trade with New York,<sup>51</sup> and such links were described by Governor Leete as early as 1680 as discussed earlier in this chapter. Matson also fails to link this branch of trade to the West Indian plantation complex.

Several recent synthetic overviews have highlighted certain elements of Connecticut's export economy, though often at the expense of others. Thus, Stephen Hornsby's analysis of Connecticut's role in the Atlantic economy is a single paragraph describing the development anchored around the Connecticut River Valley and the export of grains and livestock. While briefly noting that "forest products" headed to the West Indian market along with "fat cattle," he omitted any discussion of either major port city: New Haven or New London, and relied exclusively on the secondary literature, especially McCusker and Menard.<sup>52</sup> Daniel Vickers' authoritative chapter on the economy of the colonial "North," in *The Cambridge Economic History* volume mentioned that "horse breeding in the Connecticut Valley" arose as a specialty of the rural economy, without providing any details.<sup>53</sup> In his corresponding bibliographic essay Vickers suggested that the "social and economic history of the northern colonies is best approached" through *The Economy of British North America* by John McCusker and Russell Menard, along with Jack Greene's *The Pursuit of Happiness*.<sup>54</sup> In addition, Vickers' only specific secondary sources for Connecticut were Bruce Daniel's overview article, discussed below, and Jackson Turner Main's *Society and Economy in Colonial Connecticut*, which oddly

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<sup>51</sup> Cathy Matson, *Merchants and Empire: Trading in Colonial New York* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

<sup>52</sup> Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier*, 138-139, and the corresponding footnotes, 48-53, on page 273.

<sup>53</sup> Daniel Vickers, "The Northern Colonies: Economy and Society, 1600-1775," in *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States, Volume I, The Colonial Era*, eds. Stanley L. Engerman and Robert Gallman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 219.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, 423. Greene, however, has nothing to say about Connecticut's economy in the eighteenth century in his book.

restricts its focus to the landed economy and offers almost no discussion concerning the magnitude of the West Indian trade.<sup>55</sup>

Received wisdom regarding Connecticut's colonial economy, specifically about trade, has remained largely unchanged for almost thirty years. As one reviewer noted, "the only intensive accounts of the Connecticut economy have been two unpublished doctoral studies,"<sup>56</sup> one by Albert Edward Van Dusen, the other by Gaspare John Saldino.<sup>57</sup> Each provide a brief chapter on the broad contours of the West Indian trade yet very minimal data, but omit any mention of the wider circuits of commodity production.<sup>58</sup> While Taylor observed that "between 1730 and 1774 the colony showed a steady growth in external trade" he ignored the imperial customs records and concluded that since the individual port records of the colony were destroyed, "any statistical analysis [is] impossible."<sup>59</sup> Taylor briefly mentioned the West Indian trade but without providing any details about its scope, significance or volume, especially in regards to other export regions.<sup>60</sup>

The most recent analysis of Connecticut trade was provided by Bruce Daniels in his overview article, covering the "economic development of the colony from its founding to

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<sup>55</sup> Bruce C. Daniels, "Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut: An Overview," *The William and Mary Quarterly* (July 1980), 429-450; Jackson Turner Main, *Society and Economy in Colonial Connecticut* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

<sup>56</sup> Robert J. Taylor, *Colonial Connecticut* (Millwood, New York: KTO Press, 1979), 259-261, though he did also include Shepherd and Walton's work in his bibliographic essay.

<sup>57</sup> Albert Edward Van Dusen, "The Trade of Revolutionary Connecticut" (PhD, University of Pennsylvania 1948), particularly pages 145-156; Gaspare John Saldino "The Economic Revolution in Eighteenth Century Connecticut" (PhD, University of Wisconsin, 1964), 1-41, 393-399, especially Appendixes 1-5 on pages 395-399.

<sup>58</sup> Albert Edward Van Dusen, "The Trade of Revolutionary Connecticut" (PhD, University of Pennsylvania 1948), particularly pages 145-156; Gaspare John Saldino "The Economic Revolution in Eighteenth Century Connecticut" (PhD, University of Wisconsin, 1964), 1-41, 393-399, especially Appendixes 1-5 on pages 395-399.

<sup>59</sup> Taylor, *Colonial Connecticut*, 95-96. Connecticut's individual port records were destroyed during the American Revolution.

<sup>60</sup> Instead, Taylor's primary focus, judging by his extensive discussion of it, seems to be the currency problems which plagued the colony, a subject recently detailed by Margaret Newell in her *From Dependency to Independence: Economic Revolution in Colonial New England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998). Taylor, *Colonial Connecticut*, 90-107.

1790,”which subsequently became the prime reference for many of the above cited works.”<sup>61</sup> Daniels aptly noted one major impact of the West Indian trade, “commercial farming grew because of the vast markets in the West Indies for Connecticut’s products.”<sup>62</sup> Many townspeople had begun to organize their farming and production needs with an eye toward the export markets. He relied heavily on the work of Saladino and Van Dusen, in addition to the other secondary works already reviewed above. Overall, however, he provides only a slightly fuller account of trade than the various Governor’s Reports to the Board of Trade. He largely ignores the customs records. Thus, while he notes the importance of the West India trade, its real significance remains unexplored.<sup>63</sup>

Although many of Connecticut’s Atlantic port towns like Stamford, Norwalk, New London, New Haven, etc. offered ship captains a safe harbor and a warm drink, the Customs Board in London officially designated only the two largest, New Haven and New London, as legal zones for clearing and entering ships. This section discusses each one separately regarding vessels and tonnage. Because the customs records combine the two when listing exported commodities, I have followed the same approach in my discussion of cargoes and their values. However, to provide some sense of the individual trading magnitudes emanating from each port, ship clearances and outward tonnages from each – New Haven and then New London - are discussed separately.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Daniels, “Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut: An Overview,” 429.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 432.

<sup>63</sup> See particularly his section on “Trade” in *ibid*, pages 434-438, which provides only the barest of details regarding the scope of the West Indian trade, even though Daniels himself makes the point that “almost all of the colony’s trade directly or indirectly involved the Caribbean,” and that this region “served as the cornerstone of the trading economy.” However, because he relies on Saladino and Van Dusen his estimates actually serve to minimize how truly essential the West Indian slave labor markets were for Connecticut exports which is explored below.

<sup>64</sup> These two ports handled the vast majority of ships which entered and cleared. The smaller, secondary ports had much less developed maritime infrastructures, and thus were much more likely used in the coastal trade, plying their smaller boats to Rhode Island and New York.

We begin with the smaller of the two ports: New Haven (Tables 3.1 & 3.2). The West Indies were the largest and most significant export market for ships clearing from New Haven between 1768 and 1772. Four hundred and forty four ships representing 43% of the total number of all vessels cleared for the islands. In addition, unlike every other destination, ship traffic to this area consistently increased over the five years between 1768 and 1772.<sup>65</sup> Tonnage figures provide some additional insight into the importance of the West Indies for New Haven vessels. Some 18,090 tons, accounting for 56% of the total tonnage of all ships, traveled to the region.

By contrast, there was little transatlantic export activity during this same time frame. Only nine ships left New Haven for Great Britain, tonnage was light, only 510 tons in total. Only one ship, a 190 ton vessel in 1769, went to Ireland. No ships were recorded heading for either Africa or Southern Europe, including the Wine Islands.<sup>66</sup>

Despite their closer proximity, there were a number of ports and locales along the American Atlantic that ships bound from New Haven rarely, if ever, set their sails for in hopes of sailing cargoes. While the Bahamas and Bermuda were totally ignored, a very small number of ships went to Canadian ports. One fifty ton vessel in 1768 headed to Newfoundland but none ventured to Quebec. An unimpressive three ships headed to Nova Scotia: one forty-three ton ship in 1770, and one twenty-five ton vessel a year for the next two years. In all, Canada barely registered as a destination for New Haven merchants, who sent only four ships totaling 143 tons to this region, less than 1% of the total of either vessels or tonnage.

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<sup>65</sup> Though both New York and Massachusetts did show increases, they leveled off in the case of New York and were basically unchanged regarding Massachusetts.

<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, a very small amount, ninety gallons identified as “Wine from the Azores”, was exported to the West Indies in 1769 and this likely came via Boston, a substantial trading partner of both New Haven and Wine Island merchants. Unless otherwise stated all the data presented is from the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

The Southern Colonies were also regularly ignored as markets. No ships went there during the entire year in 1768 and in general only North Carolina seemed to attract any attention at all, and even this was minimal. In 1769, four small vessels totaling 95 tons represented the sole activity in this region from New Haven. Things hardly changed by 1770, when a single twenty ton ship docked in South Carolina, perhaps testing the area against its northern counterpart, while two others, totaling just 28 tons, again traveled to North Carolina. Four small ships totaling 78 tons went there each year in 1771 and 1772. The only other southern colony that received any attention was Georgia, where a lone thirty ton ship arrived from New Haven in both 1771 and 1772. By contrast, no ships ever went to Maryland or Virginia, East or West Florida. Overall, the southern slave colonies were largely insignificant as a market for New Haven ships, only 17 of which, accounting for 359 tons or 1% of the total tonnage, bothered to offload cargos in this region.

New England represented a much more important trading region, and Massachusetts was the largest and most frequent destination for New Haven vessels. Overall, some 219 ships totaling 5,573 tons visited ports in New England. Eleven ships totaling 299 tons went to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, though these voyages were highly concentrated in a sudden burst between 1769 and 1771.<sup>67</sup> The closer ports in Rhode Island pulled in more than twice as many ships; twenty six in all, carrying some 347 tons. They, too, followed the New Hampshire pattern however, moving from zero in 1768 to twelve in 1769, ten in 1770, and then precipitously dropping to only two a year in both 1771 and 1772. The largest biggest ports of call, however, were located in Massachusetts. Approximately 182 ships totaling 4,927 tons, representing 83%

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<sup>67</sup> No ships went from New Haven to New Hampshire in 1768 and then suddenly the next year five left, followed by four in 1770 and then only one a year for 1771 and 1772. The reason for this unusual burst, albeit small, and decline is unknown.

of all the ships to New England and 88% of the tonnage toward this region were bound for the colony. The amount of trade with Massachusetts increased over these five years, beginning modestly in 1768 with only five ships totaling 136 tons and then rising to 38 ships the next year and then forty-five, forty-seven, and forty-seven. Trade with both New Hampshire and Rhode Island declined during this time for reasons that are unclear. Perhaps goods formerly available in these colonies were now easier to procure in Massachusetts at more favorable prices. Whatever the circumstances, ships from New Haven traveled to Massachusetts' ports more than any other New England colony.

Slightly less than one out of every three ships left New Haven for New York, and this port dominated voyages to the Middle Colonies. Only three ships totaling eighty tons went to New Jersey while five, slightly bigger vessels totaling 100 tons, headed to Pennsylvania. By contrast, vessels poured into New York on a regular basis. Starting from a low of twenty three ships in 1768 to a high of eighty three the next year before, traffic leveled off in 1770 at seventy ships then sixty-nine in both 1771 and 1772. Tonnage figures rose from 614 in 1768 to 1,883 in 1769 and 1,862 in 1770 before leveling off at 1,494 in 1771 and 1772. Such numbers might appear impressive, as a whole but New York received only 23% of the total tonnage exported from New Haven, as compared to 31% of all ships leaving New Haven.

Overall, New London's trading pattern followed the same basic outlines as New Haven's, only on a greater scale (Tables 3.3 & 3.4). The slave islands in the Caribbean were also the largest and most important destination for ships clearing New London. To get a sense of how much larger New London was and the number of vessels clearing the port, consider that almost as much tonnage went just to the West Indies, 30,175 tons, as left New Haven for all ports

combined! Before analyzing the centrality of this major area, however, a brief overview of the other export zones will help place the importance of the West Indies in perspective.

New London had limited transatlantic shipping activity as eleven ships went to England, six to Ireland and seventeen to Southern Europe. Only one ship went to Bermuda, a twenty-five ton vessel in 1769: no vessels journeyed to either the Bahamas or Africa. Voyages to Canadian ports were dominated by trips to Nova Scotia. Of the forty eight trips made from New London forty one were to Nova Scotia. Still, this traffic seemed on the decline, initially climbing from zero in 1768 to eleven in 1769 then cresting at thirteen in 1770 before moving down to eleven in 1771 and then just six in 1772.

Intra-New England voyages accounted for almost 28% of all the clearances from New London, dominated by calls to ports in Massachusetts. Of the five hundred and nineteen voyages made within New England from New London, three hundred and seventy eight were to Massachusetts, representing over 72% of all these voyages. As a whole, one out of every five voyages made from New London to all ports in the Atlantic world was made to Massachusetts. In addition, this was the second largest tonnage area following the West Indies: 8,934 tons made the journey to the Massachusetts ports of Boston, Salem & Marblehead, and Gloucester. Overall, this represented 16% of the total tonnage of all ships during this five year span. By comparison, a paltry five ships totaling two hundred and twenty five tons made voyages to New Hampshire. However, some one hundred and thirty six vessels totaling 2,071 tons, or 4% of the total, made short outings to Rhode Island. Overall, one fifth of all tonnage leaving New London was bound on an intra-New England voyage and three fourths went just to Massachusetts. However, though intra-New England voyages represented 27% of all trips from New London they only represented 20% of the total tonnage.



Trade between New London and the Middle Colonies was dominated by exports to one colony: New York. Of the 441 ships making berth from New London, 405 of them, over 91%, headed to New York. As a whole, they were over 21% of the total voyages of all ships leaving New London. However, measured as a percentage of all tonnage, trips to New York were only 15% of all tonnage. As a point of comparison consider that although there were fewer vessels traveling to Massachusetts, they carried more tonnage. Conversely, although there were more voyages to New York they carried less tonnage.

Voyages to the Carolinas dominated export traffic from New London to the Southern Colonies. There were only a few clearances for Virginia, only one to Georgia and none to either Maryland or the Floridas. Of the thirty seven recorded voyages, nineteen were to North Carolina and thirteen to South Carolina, though in case of the former there was a precipitous decline from roughly six trips a year in 1768, 1769, and 1770 to just one in 1771 and 1772. Voyages to South Carolina were erratic in frequency, bouncing from zero in 1768 to six in 1769 to two in 1770 then just one in 1771 and then four in 1772. Tonnage figures were quite low; only 981 tons left New London for the Southern Colonies. The bulk of New London ships docked at slave colonies further south, in the Caribbean.

Between 1768 and 1772 some eighteen hundred and seventy vessels left the port of New London and seven hundred and ninety two of them were bound for the West Indies. This represented 42% of all voyages during this five year period and constituted the single largest destination for ships. In addition, the 30,175 tons from New London headed to the Caribbean represented 56% of all the tonnage exported. Unlike the erratic trading patterns between Massachusetts and New York, the next two largest markets, which rose and fell and then rose

again, tonnage only steadily increased, rising from 5,283 tons in 1768 to 6,822 tons in 1772, a gain of 29% over five years.

The West Indies were clearly the major export region for ships clearing from New Haven and New London. Not surprisingly ships arriving into both ports followed a similar pattern (Tables 3.5-3.8). Ship traffic entering New Haven was dominated by three areas: the West Indies, New York and Massachusetts. Of the 993 ships entering the port, those from the slave plantation islands led all others: 407 ships accounting for 41% of the total. Ships arriving from the nearby port in New York were the next largest area: 343 ships accounting for 34% of the total. Massachusetts constituted the last major import area, as some 189 ships entered, accounting for 19% of the total. Together these three areas represented 94% of all incoming ships to New Haven.

Tonnage figures, however, highlight how much more significant the trade with the West Indies was than only ship counts (Table 3.6). For example, the 407 ships from the islands constituted 16,699 tons, representing 54% of all tonnage imported during these five years. And though New York was the destination for 34% of all ships cleared from New Haven, the total tonnage heading there was far less: only 7,513 tons, accounting for only 24% of all tonnage exported. Some 5,334 tons arrived from Massachusetts, representing 17% of all tonnage. Together these three areas accounted for 95% of all the tonnage entering New Haven and the West Indies accounted for over half.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> As large as these figures are, they actually understate the actual tonnage. Customs officials recorded the “registered tonnage” but the actual measured tonnage was larger, as was the actual, physical cargo tonnage. Through painstaking research John McCusker estimated that “a ship that was registered at 100 tons measured 150 tons, and could carry 200 tons of cargo.” Shipowners wanted a lower number to pay less in taxes and duties. For details on this see “The Tonnage of Ships Engaged in British Colonial Trade During the Eighteenth Century,” in John J. McCusker, *Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 43-75, the quote is from 69.

Of the 1,710 ships that arrived in New London, a third of them, 567 in all, the largest concentration, came from the slave islands in the Caribbean (Table 3.7). Vessels entering from Massachusetts were the next largest, 438 ships, representing one-quarter of all incoming ships. New York based ships were close behind, 378 ships, accounting for over one-fifth of all incoming ships. Ships from Rhode Island were the last large group, as some 159 vessels (9%) made the short trip from Providence and Newport. Together these four areas: the West Indies, Massachusetts, New York, and Rhode Island, constituted roughly about 90% of all incoming vessels into New London. Compared regionally, the West Indies, at 33% was slightly less than the intra-New England trade – combining Massachusetts and Rhode Island at 34%, and then the Middle Colonies at 22%.<sup>69</sup>

Tonnage figures entering into New London also help to clarify the significance of the trade with the West Indies (Table 3.8). Of the 54,328 tons arriving into New London, 25,391 tons or 46% arrived from the Caribbean. In terms of sheer volume, ship tonnage dwarfed the next largest areas of Massachusetts, New York, and Rhode Island. The 13,218 tons from Massachusetts represented 24%, the 8,268 tons from New York accounted for 15% and the 2,686 tons from Rhode Island were just under 5%. Together these four areas accounted for 95% of all tonnage entering New London and the West Indies accounted for the vast majority.

Tonnage figures increased over time and all areas showed a similar pattern of rapid growth, then decline, and then more growth. Slightly less than half of all the tonnage entering New London (46%) arrived from the West Indies, accounting for 25,391 tons. In addition, between 1768 and 1772, tonnage figures generally increased, from 4,856 in 1768 to 4,875 in 1769, then rising again to 5,521 in 1770 before declining the next year to 4,974 and then rising

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<sup>69</sup> Only 17 ships originated from the Jerseys and 26 came from Pennsylvania.

again in the final recorded year of 1772 to 5,165. The next three largest regions: Massachusetts with 13,218 tons or 24%, New York with 8,268 tons or 15%, and Rhode Island with 2,636 tons or just under 5%, all followed this similar pattern of rising, declining then rising again. Together with the West Indies these four areas accounted for over 90% of all the tonnage entering New London. Along with the 1,296 tons from New Hampshire, intra-New England trade accounted for 31.3% of the total tonnage.

The number of vessels and their tonnages clearing and entering New Haven and New London make clear the significance of the West Indian trade. We can now examine the specific cargoes on these ships and assess the constituent value of each item, adding items others have omitted, and describing the overall commodity production process: all of which will further illuminate the importance of the West Indies for Connecticut's economy. The only estimate currently available of both cargoes and their values was provided by Gary Walton and James Shepherd, who relied on the latter's earlier research in producing their classic work *Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America*.<sup>70</sup> This data, in turn, has informed all subsequent statements about the value of Connecticut's cargoes, to the extent they have been mentioned at all.<sup>71</sup> However, Shepherd's estimates exclude several major commodities, as well as some minor ones, and his price data for one item in particular: horses, significantly undervalues what was, in fact, the most valuable item shipped out from Connecticut.

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<sup>70</sup> James M. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972). As mentioned in my introduction, the earlier research on trade, which became the basis for this later, more famous and universally cited work, was James F. Shepherd, *Commodity Exports from the British North American Colonies to Overseas Areas, 1768-1772: Magnitudes and Patterns of Trade, Paper No. 258 – October, 1969, Institute for Research in the Behavioral, Economic and Management Sciences* (Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University, 1969).

<sup>71</sup> See the above section on the historiography and the works cited in footnote 14 in particular.

Shepherd utilized only thirteen commodities out of approximately one hundred and forty listed in the “Inspector General’s Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772,” and in the process obscured the importance of these goods.<sup>72</sup> His decision hid the circuit of commodity production which pulled farmers, and their wives, into the larger Atlantic slave plantation system.<sup>73</sup> Some items he dropped were admittedly perhaps appropriate to omit – both in terms of the total amount shipped, the labor process involved, and their monetary value. Take apples for example. Only 430 barrels were shipped between 1768 and 1772, and these were fairly inexpensive, about five shillings a barrel. The same cannot be said of onions, which were a major export item.

In the five years between 1768 and 1772, approximately 482,922 bunches of onions were exported to the West Indies (Tables 3.9 & 3.10).<sup>74</sup> These vegetables were so important that the Colonial Assembly attempted to establish guidelines for their export, passing “An Act in Alteration of an Act entitled An Act for regulating the Market and ascertaining the Weight of Bunches of Onions.” Following the successful passage of the Act, a bunch had to weigh at least four and a half pounds. In addition, the onions were required to be “cured, dry, well and firmly bunched.” Those who failed to adhere to either aspect of the new Act forfeited either the onions or their value.<sup>75</sup> If we assume that each bunch weighed four pounds, though they might have weighed less or even considerably more, then approximately 1,931,688 pounds of onions were

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<sup>72</sup> The number of 140 is my count, which combines multiple separate items into one category. For example, though oak timber might be shipped in both tons and feet I have in this instance, combined them. However, in the data tables provided in each of my chapters, they are all listed separately. Counted in this manner, the overall number of commodities would be somewhat higher.

<sup>73</sup> The thirteen he chose were beef and pork, bread and flour, spermaceti candles, dried fish, Indian corn, hoops, iron bars, cattle, horses, whale oil, wine, pine boards and staves and heading. My count of thirty-one includes combining several separate items, like beaver, deer, etc. furs into one category of “furs”.

<sup>74</sup> Onions were also shipped in bushels, 818 to be exact, but due to the absence of available price data at this time I have not included these in my discussion of values and totals above. A third grouping, ropes, which was used in only one year, 1772, I have assumed was the same as a bunch in the absence of countervailing evidence.

<sup>75</sup> *CTCR*, Volume 13, 82.

exported to the West Indies. Onions were relatively inexpensive and so their value was a modest £7,847 (Tables 3.9 & 3.10).

Focusing solely on the volume or value of onions, however, obscures the larger issue of linkages and labor production. These onions were grown by farmers across Connecticut, many originated from the town of Wethersfield.<sup>76</sup> Original plantings were followed by weedings and then, at the proper time, harvesting. Local slaves may have toiled on farms cultivating onions in the town, which had 142 African-Americans present in 1774.<sup>77</sup> Next came the packing and transportation phase, as they were put into boxes to avoid damage and placed on carts, pulled by horse or oxen, and brought to market. They were most likely led from the farms to a river ferry operating out of Wethersfield or other towns, which brought them down the Connecticut River, stopping in any of the river towns for re-loading onto a larger vessel or continuing downstream to the coastal ports of Say Brook or Lyme, where they would be transported again to New London. Once in port they were packed onto a sloop or schooner along with other items for export. Eventually, after an oceanic journey of some two thousand miles to the West Indies, they were unloaded unto wheeled carts, and then transported to the plantations for consumption. Onions were thus a large and significant crop which integrated many individuals into a labor chain stretching across the Atlantic.

The same pattern outlined for onions holds equally true for butter, another major item produced and exported from Connecticut to the West Indies. Some 44,546 pounds of butter was sent to the West Indies and although only valued at £844, the labor required for its production was both taxing and gender specific. Unlike harvesting onions, which might have required men and women toiling in the fields together, butter making was profoundly gendered work. As Joan

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<sup>76</sup> Daniels, "Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut: An Overview," 433.

<sup>77</sup> *CTCR*, Volume 14, 485.

Jensen remarked, women “dominated” butter making.<sup>78</sup> This was hard labor; done by hand though some women had churns to assist them.<sup>79</sup> More often, women had to beat the milk in a bowl with a spoon. Given the large volume involved, and the lack of any “factories” of women solely making butter, this was individual, household production and suggests that a significant number of Connecticut women were involved in making this commodity.

The work of these “invisible farmers,” in Jensen’s memorable phrase, continued in the production of another low-value, high-labor commodity for shipment to the West Indies: cheese. Though omitted in Shepherd’s calculations, Connecticut ships carried some 122,596 pounds of cheese to the West Indies between 1768 and 1772 alone.<sup>80</sup> While relatively inexpensive monetarily, at 5 pence per pound, proper care was required of the “dairywomen,” as contemporaries referred to them, to ensure the production of a saleable product. The £995 value of the cheese for these five years hardly captures the full labor value involved, since women’s work was unpaid, in the strict monetary sense.

Women made cheese, like butter, in the kitchen after a series of steps that began with milking the cows. Along every step of the way the process depended upon “the best judgment of the dairywoman.”<sup>81</sup> After obtaining the milk the next step involved achieving the proper temperature and keeping the milk warm, to a state literally called “milk-warm.” This was tricky

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<sup>78</sup> Joan Jensen, “Butter Making and Economic Development in Mid-Atlantic America from 1750 to 1850,” *Signs* (Summer 1988), 813-829, the quote is on 814. Butter continued to be a major export item to the West Indies, though overall this trade was dominated by women in Pennsylvania. See Joan Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 80. As Deborah Valenze stresses, “as a ubiquitous domestic enterprise, dairying was women’s work in the eighteenth century world.” Deborah Valenze, “The Art of Women and the Business of Men: Women’s Work and the Dairy Industry c.1740-1840,” *Past and Present* (February 1991), 144.

<sup>79</sup> Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds*, pages 92-113, but especially page 103.

<sup>80</sup> The importance of butter and cheese making by women is also omitted from Bruce Daniels’ article, which only makes a passing reference to “booming cheese production” in the mid-eighteenth century without observing who actually made the cheese. Daniels, “Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut: An Overview,” 441.

<sup>81</sup> Anonymous, *The Art of Cheese-Making* (Concord, New Hampshire 1793), 5. Everything that follows in this paragraph regarding cheese making comes from this handy and informative pamphlet.

business because women needed to keep the milk warm but not boiling, which would “injure the quality” of either butter or cheese, with rudimentary heating systems. Next, “good fine salt” was added, along with some rennet, which was the stomach lining of a young calf, which acted as the coagulation agent.<sup>82</sup> After stirring this mixture together it was left to stand from anywhere between an hour and a half to four hours. Then the curdling process began in which the curd was separated from the whey by cutting it off “with a sharp knife” and allowing the curd to set and drain the water off. After all the water had drawn off, the “cheese” was put into a cloth in a vat or hoop, and then through a press, which continues to push out any excess water. Finally, the cheese was often pressed multiple times in an effort to increase quality and consistency. This was the household labor women provided to produce the tremendous output of cheese for consumption in the slave islands of the West Indies.<sup>83</sup>

Though onions, butter, and cheese exemplify low value commodities when defined in strictly monetary terms, horses, by contrast, constituted the largest and most valuable single item of value exported from Connecticut. Between 1768 and 1772, some 21,709 horses were exported to the West Indies (Tables 3.16). Using prices derived from a single invoice from Boston in 1766 Shepherd calculated that a horse was worth approximately £10 in Connecticut.<sup>84</sup> More recently John McCusker has lowered this to £9 in his authoritative chapter on “Colonial Statistics” though he does not explain his rationale for doing so.<sup>85</sup> However, according to actual shipping invoices

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<sup>82</sup> Preparing rennet itself was quite a task in itself, as *The Art of Cheese-Making* makes clear on pages 11-12.

<sup>83</sup> The final consumers of both butter and cheese in the area, whether slave, free, or both, remains unknown. Given the tremendous volume of exported onions it would seem most likely to have been a cheap food source given to slaves.

<sup>84</sup> Shepherd, *Commodity Exports*, page 27, footnote 5, which identifies the price source from an invoice “of the sales of the Sloop *Biddeford*, September 10, 1766, Bourne Papers, Manuscript Division, Baker Library, Harvard University, Boston, Massachusetts. Shepherd actually used this figure for all the horse values for New England.

<sup>85</sup> John J. McCusker, “Colonial Statistics” in *Historical Statistics of the United States, Millennial Edition, Volume 5, Part E: Governance and International Relations*, eds. Susan B. Carter, et al, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 5-733.



of Connecticut merchants, horses sold for considerably more. On average, they were sold for £14.25 in Connecticut and probably higher in the West Indies.<sup>86</sup> At the higher value the new total value for horses was £309,353, a 42% increase over Shepherd's £217,090. Overall, horses represented the most valuable item exported to the West Indies, accounting for over 59% of the total value of all goods sent to this region.

Furthermore, as with onions and butter, (with almost all of the commodities actually) getting horses to the West Indies required a considerably well-developed labor chain. Merchants had to locate willing suppliers, and these likely came from multiple locales. There were no large-scale farms directly specializing in horses that emerge from any existing known primary sources and the invoices for horses provide individual names of suppliers. Thus, it appears that numerous farmers sold small numbers of horses. After locating the available horses they were transported from the various farms to the port cities via the roadways or ferry. Given the poor quality of the roads, including the risk of injuring the horses, and the ease of ferry travel linking large sections of the population to the coastal hubs, most were likely moved via watercraft. In addition, if farmers had to spend time walking a horse this took precious time away from other essential farming duties. Horses were likely procured from towns either situated on the rivers or close by, in other words, from almost everywhere in Connecticut.

It would be difficult to overstate the importance of horses for the slave plantation complex at the heart of West Indian society. Just as horse prices varied so did their use across the islands. First and foremost horses provided an essential non-human energy power. They pulled

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<sup>86</sup> The average price of £14.25 is based on a database of over 500 horse prices in Connecticut drawn from court cases, merchant letters, and account books from the colony assembled by Joe Avitable of the University of Rochester, who kindly shared his data from his upcoming dissertation, "Connecticut in the Atlantic World Economy," with me. Consider that the Sloop Ranger sold six horses in Barbados in April, 1771 for the following prices: 16, 19, 22 (2 sales), 24(2 sales), and 26. See Accounts, "Capt. Ebenezer Grant with Jonathan Wadsworth," Folder 291, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut. My thanks to Joe Avitable for sharing his knowledge of these sources.

the carts carrying goods from the ships to the plantations and vice versa. These draft animals were crucial in transporting goods from the plantation to the ships. After all, the main goods produced on the plantation: sugar, molasses, and rum were all heavy when loaded into hogshead containers for export. Every commodity, whether large or small, entering or leaving the West Indian ports, had to be transported inland somehow and that required animal power, lots of it. Some islands, Jamaica in particular, had enough space to cultivate local horse-raising but the relations between local and imported livestock remains unclear.<sup>87</sup> The smaller islands, like Barbados, and the Leeward Islands, were so dedicated to sugar production that they overwhelmingly imported horses, rather than raise them domestically.<sup>88</sup> Other horses were used to drive the rollers to crush the sugar stalks. Finally, certain horses were used by the white planter elite, who rode on horseback – symbolizing their wealth, power, and status.<sup>89</sup>

Connecticut suppliers dominated the export of horses to the West Indies. Two sets of data demonstrate this clearly. Between 1768 and 1772 the imperial customs records reveal that three out of every four horses exported to the West Indies came from Connecticut (Table 16). In addition, the domination of the “horse-trade” by Connecticut merchants emerges from even a cursory examination of West Indian customs records. Between December 5, 1772 and January 1, 1774 – essentially one year – 1,067 horses were imported into Barbados. Of these, 991 were from Connecticut.<sup>90</sup> This accounts for over 92% of all the horses arriving during this time. In addition, the customs records for that island allow us to track the seasonality of imports. Customs officials divided the calendar year into four quarters: from December 5 to March 25, from March

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<sup>87</sup> Richard Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery, An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 208-233, describes cattle raising on some plantations but does not mention horse-raising.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 124-207.

<sup>89</sup> A topic examined in chapter one above.

<sup>90</sup> NOSL Barbados, T 64/49, PRO, TNA, London, England. All of the following figures in the paragraph are derived from my calculations based on this source, which regrettably do not include any prices.

25 to July 5, from July 5 to October 10 and from October 10 to January 5. During the first quarter Connecticut ships arrived with the largest total number of horses, 593 in all, accounting for over 55% of all horses imported during the entire year. Things dropped dramatically through the next quarter as another 175 horses arrived from Connecticut. A big drop occurred during the third quarter, as only 76 horses were imported. Finally, through the last quarter more horses arrived; 149 in all, 147 of which originated in ships from New Haven and New London. Though horses arrived from both ports, they were dominated by New London, which sent 782 horses or 79% compared to New Haven, which accounted for 209 horses, or 21%. These ships carried a rather large number of horses, considering they were all kept on the top deck through the entire voyage. On average, there were about thirty-one horses on each vessel arriving from Connecticut, though they did range from a low of nineteen to a high of forty-nine. Horses on the island were most likely used for the transport of goods and not for mill work, given that the island was dominated by windmills, as opposed to cattle mills, which also used horses.<sup>91</sup>

West Indian planters also had their slave workers harness cattle to crush cane, transport goods, manure the soil, etc. Cattle were especially in demand among the Leeward Islands of St. Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat, where planters had slaves erect cattle mills in large numbers over wind or water mills.<sup>92</sup> These sturdy beasts of burden constituted the second most valuable item exported from Connecticut between 1768 and 1772. Some 12,674 were sent during this span, accounting for £76,044 and almost 14% of the total value of all cargos exported to the West Indies (Tables 3.9 & 3.10). Moreover, Connecticut was the leading supplier of cattle to the West

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<sup>91</sup> For the issue of wind versus cattle mills on the island see Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, 146.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, 148-183.

Indies from North America (Table 3.15). Between 1768 and 1772 three out of every four head of cattle sent to the slave islands came from Connecticut.<sup>93</sup>

Merchants obtained cattle, like horses, from many individual farms in Connecticut, if the experiences of Jonathan Trumbull are any indication. The Lebanon-based operation began with Trumbull typically making purchases in the fall months of September and October, though they could be bought at any time of year.<sup>94</sup> He acquired cattle from numerous towns other than his own, including Hebron, Windham, Goshen, Coventry, Colchester, Tolland, Bolton, Ashford, Woodstock, Preston, and Norwich. Once a sufficient number were gathered Trumbull had to arrange for them to pasture until “transportation could be arranged.”<sup>95</sup> He hired several men to head cattle drives, often spread over several months and though Trumbull favored Boston as his primary market in the 1730s, his fellow merchants by the 1760s were driving approximately 2,500 a year directly to the West Indies.<sup>96</sup>

In addition to horses and cattle, three additional animals were exported from Connecticut, but all three were omitted by Shepherd (and then subsequently by everyone else): sheep, hogs, and poultry. Connecticut ships brought more sheep, in fact, than horses to the West Indies (Tables 3.9 & 3.10). Connecticut was the largest supplier of sheep to the West Indies (Table 3.17). Between 1768 and 1772 some 27,003 sheep were sent, accounting for £9,498 (Tables 3.9 & 3.10). Given the large number of sheep, here again we face the likely prospect of suppliers from all over Connecticut. Individual family farms might have provided one or two sheep, while keeping the rest for the domestic production of woolen clothing. In the West Indies, such

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<sup>93</sup> Based on my calculations derived from the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

<sup>94</sup> Glenn Weaver, *Jonathan Trumbull* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1956), 14.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, 14.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid*, 14-15. The claim about the 1760s I derived from the overall figures in Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

garments were both unnecessary and ill-suited to the tropical conditions. Instead, sheep and hogs probably fulfilled two needs: dung and food. Sugar fields demand constant fertilization. By 1689, the Barbadian planter Edward Littleton described how he “must use...vast quantities of dung.” Moreover, he added, “disposing it there,” in the fields, was “mighty labor” and “an Acre of ground will take thirty load of dung.”<sup>97</sup> At only 10 shillings, 6 pence per sheep in 1768 these animals provided a much cheaper alternative to either horses (at £14.25 each) or even cattle (£6 each) for this purpose. In addition, the white population in the British West Indies favored mutton as a food dish.<sup>98</sup> Connecticut was the leading supplier of sheep to the West Indies, exporting almost half of all the sheep exported from British North America to the region.<sup>99</sup>

Significant quantities of tallow, a sheep and cattle-derived product, were also exported. Approximately 74,470 pounds of this rendered animal fat was packed in containers and sent to the plantations, where skilled slaves were likely employed in making tallow candles. This was a job likely performed during the “slow six months from July through September,” when slaves worked at non-harvest tasks.<sup>100</sup> Tallow was valued at £1,097 in total. Though planters gave slaves this job they also purchased some 3,484 pounds of ready-made tallow candles.<sup>101</sup> To augment this they also bought 30,019 pounds of spermaceti candles, made from the head matter of whales, worth £1,729.<sup>102</sup>

Along with sheep, Connecticut merchants sent hogs though customs officials only provided a separate listing for these animals in one year: 1771, for reasons which remain

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<sup>97</sup> [Richard Littleton] *Groans of the Plantations* (London 1689), 18.

<sup>98</sup> Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 272-275.

<sup>99</sup> Based on my calculations derived from the Imperial Customs Records, CUST 16/1, PRO, London, UK.

<sup>100</sup> Dunn, *Sugar and Slave*, 200.

<sup>101</sup> Candles, from source to manufacture and uses, were examined in chapter one above.

<sup>102</sup> Shepherd has a higher total value of £2,032. My source for the price is derived from the Appendix price data series on page 79 following Chapter one on Rhode Island. Compare with Shepherd, *Commodity Exports*, 44.

unclear.<sup>103</sup> Still, they accounted for £4,192. Poultry, by contrast, arrived in all five years. Sent in groups of twelve, some 9,104 dozens were exported, and were valued at £2,440. In all, the three livestock animals Shepherd omitted totaled £16,130 or 7% of the value of all cargoes exported based on his own estimates but their larger significance emerges when we consider the vast numbers of individuals involved in supplying these goods to merchants organizing shipments bound for the West Indies.

Another important export, second in monetary value to horses, was slaughtered beef and pork packed in barrels and exported to the islands as a food source.<sup>104</sup> This item provides yet another example of the integration of farm labor into the wider circuit of commodity production linking individuals in Connecticut with the larger slave plantation complex in the West Indies. The industry was important enough early on in the colony's development that in May of 1674 the government "specified standards for quality and size, and required each town to elect inspectors to stamp the finished product."<sup>105</sup> Farmers had to raise the cows and pigs (or hogs) to sufficient size before slaughter. Bruce Daniels refers to this as "agricultural manufacturing" and argues that it was a part time activity performed by farmers and "occasionally" by two or three men employed by merchants.<sup>106</sup> Certainly the merchant Jonathan Trumbull fit the latter description, hiring a butcher for "seven or eight days." Glenn Weaver argues that butchering was highly skilled labor, though he shares Daniels' assessment that most farmers preferred to do their own slaughtering. Given the volume of exports, however, it may be that far more butchers were involved than these two scholars acknowledge and our analysis now shifts to these specifics.

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<sup>103</sup> Thus, for the other four years we might assume that hogs were included under the sheep category based on the "&" symbol listed in the customs records following the "sheep" designation – absent from the other livestock listings, but this is only a possibility.

<sup>104</sup> As mentioned earlier in the chapter, this was one of the items Shepherd included in his work.

<sup>105</sup> *CTCR*, Volume II, page 224, cited by Daniels, "Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut: An Overview," 441.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid*, 440.

Between 1768 and 1772 some 20,513 barrels of slaughtered beef and pork were exported to the West Indies, accounting for £42,768, the third largest percentage in monetary terms of all goods exported. Barrel weight might vary, though in general the former weighed 225 pounds and the latter 217 pounds.<sup>107</sup> Thus, if 220 pounds is used as an average then some 4,512,860 pounds were sent in just these five years. Were farmers working occasionally responsible for the majority production of such a large amount? Perhaps. According to Jackson Turner Main, after laborers, farmers were the largest occupational category in the colony and almost all had at least one surplus cow, pig or hog, and some had quite a few.<sup>108</sup>

Still, one has to measure this against the available working population at this time. In 1774, almost one in three of the colony's population was a child under the age of ten and another group – women over the age of ten, who accounted for slightly less than a third of the total population – were both unlikely to be working such a dangerous job.<sup>109</sup> Thus, it would appear that a very large number of male farmers, and quite possibly slaves, were involved in producing slaughtered beef and pork for the West Indian trade. Even merchants like Trumbull contracted his products from Lebanon from a professional butcher and then hired another group of specialized men to pack the meat, “a laborious task.”<sup>110</sup> A third group was then responsible for transporting the barrels placed on the backs of horse, oxen, or mule drawn carts for a journey to Norwich, fifteen miles away and then placed on board watercraft, probably a flat ferry and sent down the Thames River to New London.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Arthur H. Cole, *Wholesale Commodity Prices in the United States, 1700-1862, Statistical Supplement Actual Wholesale Prices of Various Commodities* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), x.

<sup>108</sup> Main, *Society and Economy in Colonial Connecticut*, 200-234, but especially Appendix 6A on pages 235-238.

<sup>109</sup> Calculations derived from the 1774 Census data from *CTCR* Volume 14, p. 491.

<sup>110</sup> Weaver, *Jonathan Trumbull*, 15.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*, 15.

Alongside beef and pork barrels were others filled with bread and flour, bushels of potatoes, oats, peas, Indian corn, and fish (Tables 3.9 & 3.10). All but the last item were domestically produced; the fish was overwhelmingly re-exported after arriving through the coastal trade from Massachusetts, the leading area for the capture and export of fish.<sup>112</sup> In his estimates Shepherd omitted potatoes and peas, which were relatively small export items – 2,166 bushels accounting for £90 for the former and 1,725 bushels accounting for £148 in the latter – but oats were a larger agricultural staple. Some 18,201 bushels were sent to the West Indies, and though accounting for only £895 they point to yet another example of farm production for export.

Though livestock and agricultural products constituted the most valuable items exported, other commodities, notably wood and wood-derived items, represented yet another high-labor, low value sector that requires careful analysis. Shepherd included only 2 major wood items in his analysis: pine boards and the jointly categorized unit of staves and heading, but there were quite a few more that were sent in significant quantities.<sup>113</sup> Though overshadowed by New Hampshire in the historiographic discussions of wood exports, lumberman and sawmills were hard at work throughout Connecticut cutting, hauling and making trees into salable commodities for the West Indian markets. Like their New Hampshire counterparts, Connecticut lumberman would have taken advantage of the numerous rivers in transporting trees by water, after felling them and bringing them across the terrain by sled.<sup>114</sup> Between 1768 and 1772 some 2,145,187 feet of pine boards were exported, accounting for £3,162. In addition to pine, Connecticut lumbermen felled

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<sup>112</sup> As discussed in chapter five of the dissertation.

<sup>113</sup> The centrality of wood products and the labor process involved in their production is explored in chapter seven.

<sup>114</sup> A process detailed in chapter seven.



a number of oak trees to feed the sawmills and produce the 431,997 feet of oak plank exported to the West Indies. Monetarily, however, this only accounted for a modest £1,965.

Sawyers and other expert woodworkers also produced an additional 6,957,304 staves as well – key components in the making of wooden containers for shipping almost every commodity in and out of the West Indies. These high value items accounted for £20,802. To the impressive total of almost seven million staves, Connecticut woodworkers swung their blades and constructed 4,642,784 hoops during this same time period, worth about £8,399.<sup>115</sup> In addition, they also manufactured whole hogsheads, called shook hogsheads, some 34,546 to be precise. Assembling these by hand undoubtedly took time, but they nonetheless had a low monetary value, accounting for only £3,368. Although Connecticut boatbuilders apparently did not supply small sugar boats to the islands as did their counterparts in New Hampshire, they did produce a substantial number of oars: approximately 85,392 feet worth £533.

As the physical infrastructure of the islands suffered constant degradation through fire, imperial wars, slave rebellions, hurricanes, and overall wear and tear, Connecticut workers produced two key building materials in voluminous quantities. The first were wooden shingles, which graced everything from churches to distilleries, waterfront shops to plantation mansions. Some 5,821,199 shingles were exported to the West Indies, and though they were fairly inexpensive, only amounting to £7,567, the number of men involved in producing them must have been extensive. Certainly the labor process involved in making shingles was monotonous.<sup>116</sup> The other major building item was bricks. Made from earthen materials and fired

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<sup>115</sup> This is a lower price than Shepherd's. Mine is derived from the price data in Appendix A.1 in chapter one.

<sup>116</sup> For a very brief description of shingle making, based on the present day attempts by Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia to recreate colonial laboring techniques, see Henry Wiencek, *An Imperfect God, George Washington, His Slaves, and the Creation of America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), 108.

in ovens or hearths, Connecticut brickmasters manufactured an impressive 1,184,950 bricks, valued at £924.

Not all products from Connecticut were exported in large amounts. Naval stores, for example, were rarely sent and when they were, only in very small quantities; just 41 barrels of pitch, 23 barrels of tar, and 26 barrels of turpentine. Together this amounted to a paltry £52. Other items non-wood items sent in small amounts included whale oil: 52 tons, 713 gallons (£712), re-exported Madeira wine; just over two tons (£128), almost 17 tons of iron bars (£289), 1,072 axes (£107), and 39,989 pounds of tobacco (£438).<sup>117</sup>

Having examined the exports to the West Indies we now turn to the quantity and value of imports from the region. Between 1768 and 1772, the 2,703 ships arriving into Connecticut from the heart of the Atlantic slave economy brought back five major slave produced commodities: sugar, molasses, rum, salt and cotton. Of the first three, some 1,488,032 lbs of brown sugar, along with 612,609 gallons of molasses and 1,368,510 gallons of rum was unloaded on the docks of New Haven and New London, loaded onto carts and ferries, and distributed across the colony, making its way into the homes of those same women who made butter and cheese, and the men raising and driving those precious horses, cattle, and sheep.<sup>118</sup> Those ships also brought 450,936 bushels of salt, an essential preservative used by Connecticut meat packers to keep the slaughtered beef and pork from rotting as they stuffed barrels to go to the islands. Slave grown, picked, harvested and packed cotton also arrived, some 146,144 pounds of it, representing almost 14% of all the cotton imported into British North America during these five years. Women

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<sup>117</sup> This was most likely not re-exported tobacco from Virginia. Planters in Connecticut started growing tobacco in the colony during the seventeenth century and continued to do so even through the large tobacco boom in the Chesapeake.

<sup>118</sup> All figures in this paragraph are my calculations derived from the Inspector General's Customs Records. For brown sugar I've converted the original figure of 13,286 cwt into pounds by using the standard conversion of 112 pounds per cwt.

across Connecticut transformed the raw cotton in their households into clothing, blankets, and other useful textiles. Undoubtedly they provided the garments worn by themselves, their families, and others, as everyone continued to raise horses, drive cattle, farm onions, hew lumber, make cheese and butter, and perpetuate the commodity cycle.

The men returning into ports along Connecticut's Atlantic shore also brought human cargoes with them: slaves. Custom officials recorded slaves imported into the colony only in one year, 1768, of the five between 1768 and 1772. Fourteen slaves were brought into the colony overall, eight into New London and three into New Haven. Since no ships were recorded arriving from Africa, these slaves must have arrived either from the West Indies or from ships operating the coastal trade. Slaves were certainly brought into Connecticut over the entire colonial period and there was some demand in Connecticut for slave labor. Consider that although the overall numbers of slaves within the colony was relatively small in comparison with the Middle or Southern Colonies, by 1774 over five thousand African-Americans were living and working in the colony, the largest in all of New England, and almost every Connecticut town had at least a few slaves listed in the 1774 census.<sup>119</sup> Some arrived via the coastal trade from Rhode Island or New York, perhaps even Boston, but slaves from here were most likely human "re-exports" from the Caribbean.<sup>120</sup> Even Rhode Island slave traders took their ships first to the West Indies to sell their human cargoes before returning to Providence and Newport for sale locally.<sup>121</sup>

Some of those ships carrying slaves from these nearby ports, however, were built in Connecticut shipyards. Between 1715 and 1765 approximately forty-six Connecticut built ships

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<sup>119</sup> See the 1774 Census returns reprinted in *CTCR*, Volume 14, 485-491.

<sup>120</sup> It is possible that some "surplus" slaves born in New York or Rhode Island were sold in Connecticut, but given the increasing number of slaves in both these colonies as the eighteenth century progressed, it would seem like the majority of slaves arrived via the West Indies.

<sup>121</sup> A subject explored more fully in chapter one.

entered North American ports with slaves for sale.<sup>122</sup> Thirty-seven of them docked in New York. Most carried less than ten slaves but six entries recorded between ten and seventeen. Similar to the situation in New Hampshire, all these slave ships were owned by men in other colonies.<sup>123</sup> Over the course of the eighteenth century some men from Connecticut did actually launch slave trading voyages but these were few and far between and their primary destinations were in the West Indies, with maybe a few for the Southern Colonies, but not apparently directly back to Connecticut.

That some Connecticut-built ships were utilized in the slave trade comes as no surprise, given that shipbuilding was a major industry in Connecticut. The ships plying the West Indian trade were likely built in the major centers of New Haven and New London though other coastal towns likely contributed a schooner or two. The absence of Connecticut customs records prevents us from knowing how many ships were built but other relevant facts do emerge from other similar sources. For example, the customs records for Barbados in 1773 reveal that every single one of the twenty-eight ships that arrived from Connecticut between December 5, 1772 and January 5, 1774 was built and owned by men from Connecticut.<sup>124</sup> Thus the matrix of labor and resources involved in shipbuilding, for ships were overwhelmingly bound for the West Indies, provides another example of a large and important sector of the economy built on the slave plantation complex. And the shipbuilding industry was in turn linked to other sectors, like the horse, cattle, and lumber trades. For building ships required wood that had been felled by

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<sup>122</sup> Guocun Yang, "From Slavery to Emancipation: the African-Americans of Connecticut, 1650s to 1820s" (PhD University of Connecticut, 1999) 73. See his Table on page 74 for more details.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, 73-80.

<sup>124</sup> NOSL Barbados, T 64/49, PRO, TNA, London, UK. Similar patterns emerged from my sampling of the NOSL records for Montserrat, Nevis, and Jamaica.

axes, drawn by cattle to rivers, then floated to mills and shipyards for assembly into sea-worthy vessels.

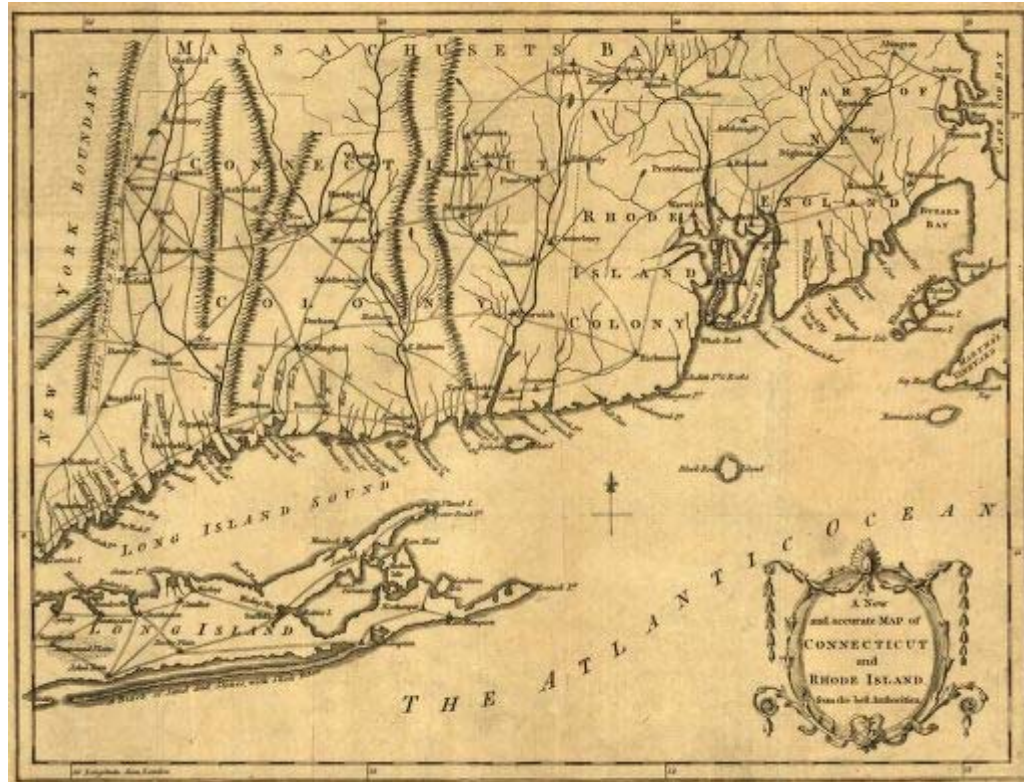
Undoubtedly the port city populations which built, staffed and outfitted these ships were dependent upon the West Indies but the structural, economic linkages moved from New Haven and New London up the Connecticut and Thames Rivers, respectively, and further still up their tributaries, touching many people along the way.

The sheer volume of exported commodities analyzed earlier suggests that many people outside the Atlantic coastal towns were deeply involved. The absence of large-scale horse farms meant that merchants were forced to buy one or two head of the major livestock animals (horses, cattle, and sheep) from many individuals. These, in turn, were brought down on drives overland or trickled in a few at a time through the massive ferry system which allowed for easy, cheap, reliable and fast transportation. Thousands of pigs and cows were slaughtered, salted, and packed in barrels, made from locally felled wood, and then loaded on board. The sheer volume involved required supply lines outside the two main port cities. And as these men moved animals down river their wives, daughters, and mothers harvested almost two million pounds of onions, made 122,596 pounds of cheese and 44,546 pounds of butter – all in just the five years between 1768 and 1772. Such production magnitudes required a labor force across the colony and well beyond the Atlantic shore line. Of course, the cumulative effect of all this does not prove that *everyone* in Connecticut was dependent upon the West Indian slave economy but undoubtedly a large number of people were linked into it.

The West Indies were the most important export area for Connecticut. Total export value between 1768 and 1772 amounted to £949,298 (Table 3.20). Of this, exports to the West Indies were worth £503,111, accounting for 53% of the total value of all exports. In addition, thought

the coastal trade was worth £422,638, about 16% of it – £138,799, was derived from the re-export of West Indian commodities. When added to the direct West Indian trade then the importance of the plantation complex rises even further to 67.6%. An export zone for Connecticut, the Caribbean lacked any serious rivals.

Some scholars have recognized the significance of the West Indian trade, notably those who have explored Connecticut's economy, but their work has neither provided the specifics of the trade, nor explored the linkages nor detailed the circuit of commodity production – particularly the importance of female labor. The broader scholarly focus, including the recent work on Atlantic history, nearly ignores Connecticut altogether –despite the fact that at least between 1768 and 1772 three out of every four horses, three out of every four head of cattle, and almost half of all the sheep that was exported to the West Indies came from Connecticut. These were these were the main non-human engines in the slave plantation system. The West Indies were the largest destination for ships leaving Connecticut, over twelve hundred voyages during those five years representing 43% of all clearances outward and accounting for 43% of all tonnage as well. In terms of cargo values the West Indies accounted for over 84% of total value of everything exported from the colony. Governor Trumbull's assessment had been quite correct: the principle trade of Connecticut was to the West Indies, the epicenter of the Atlantic slave system. Connecticut merchants brought essential components of the infrastructure to bring to sustain the bloody work of the plantation complex.

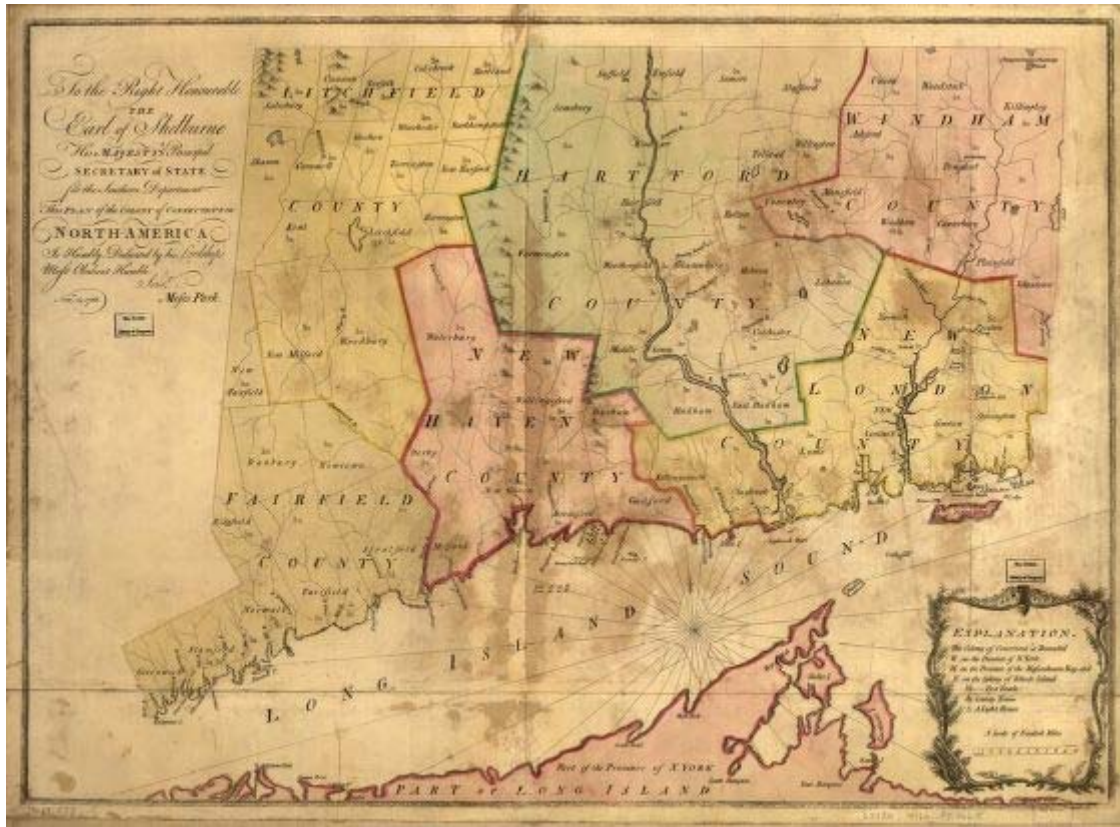


**Figure 3-1 Connecticut in 1758**

**Original Map Title:** *A map of the colonies in Connecticut and Rhode Island, divided by counties & townships, from best authorities, by Thomas Kitchin, from The London magazine: or, Gentleman's monthly intelligencer (1758), vol. 7.*

**Note:** The image above was reprinted in many later editions of various publications and the one above is from a 1780-1781 copy, which is utilized here for image clarity.

**Source:** Library of Congress, *The American Revolution and Its Era: Maps and Charts of North America and the West Indies, 1750-1789*, website: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/armhtml/armhome.html>



**Figure 3-2 Connecticut in 1766**

**Official Map Title:** “To the right honourable, the Earl of Shelbourne, His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Southern Department. This plan of the colony of Connecticut in North-America. Is humbly dedicated by his lordships most obedient humble servt. Moses Park. Novr. 24, 1766.”

**Source:** Library of Congress, The American Revolution and Its Era: Maps and Charts of North America and the West Indies, 1750-1789, website: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/armhtml/armhome.html>





**Figure 3-3 Close-Up of New London County Coastline and Fisher's Island - 1766**

**Official Map Title:** "To the right honourable, the Earl of Shelbourne, His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Southern Department. This plan of the colony of Connecticut in North-America. Is humbly dedicated by his lordships most obedient humble servt. Moses Park. Novr. 24, 1766."

**Source:** Library of Congress, The American Revolution and Its Era: Maps and Charts of North America and the West Indies, 1750-1789, website: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/armhtml/armhome.html>

**Table 3-1 Vessels Clearing New Haven: 1768-1772**

<b>Destination</b>	<b>Y-1768</b>	<b>Y-1769</b>	<b>Y-1770</b>	<b>Y-1770</b>	<b>Y-1772</b>
Newfoundland	1	0	0	0	0
Quebec	0	0	0	0	0
Nova Scotia	0	0	1	1	1
<b>Canada</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
New Hampshire	0	5	4	1	1
Massachusetts	5	38	45	47	47
Rhode Island	0	12	10	2	2
<b>New England</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>50</b>
New York	23	83	70	69	69
New Jersey	0	1	0	1	1
Pennsylvania	0	1	0	2	2
<b>Middle Colonies</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>72</b>
Maryland	0	0	0	0	0
Virginia	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Chesapeake</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
North Carolina	0	4	2	4	4
South Carolina	0	0	1	0	0
Georgia	0	0	0	1	1
Florida	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Lower South</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Bermuda &amp; Bahamas Islands</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Great Britain &amp; Ireland</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Southern Europe &amp; Wine Islands</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Africa</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

**Note:** These are my calculations based on the listings in Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 3-2 Tonnage Clearing New Haven: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Destination</b>	<b>Y-1768</b>	<b>Y-1769</b>	<b>Y-1770</b>	<b>Y-1770</b>	<b>Y-1772</b>
Newfoundland	0	0	0	0	0
Quebec	0	0	0	0	0
Nova Scotia	0	0	43	25	25
<b>Canada</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>25</b>
New Hampshire	0	121	128	25	25
Massachusetts	136	940	1,245	1,303	1,303
Rhode Island	0	153	154	20	20
<b>New England</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>1,214</b>	<b>1,517</b>	<b>1,341</b>	<b>1,341</b>
New York	614	1,883	1,862	1,494	1,494
New Jersey	0	20	0	30	30
Pennsylvania	0	20	0	40	40
<b>Middle Colonies</b>	<b>614</b>	<b>1,923</b>	<b>1,862</b>	<b>1,564</b>	<b>1,564</b>
Maryland	0	0	0	0	0
Virginia	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Chesapeake</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
North Carolina	0	95	28	78	78
South Carolina	0	0	20	0	0
Georgia	0	0	0	30	30
Florida	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Lower South</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>Bermuda &amp; Bahamas Islands</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Great Britain &amp; Ireland</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>310</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>110</b>
<b>Southern Europe &amp; Wine Islands</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Africa</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

**Table 3-2 (continued)**

<b>West Indies</b>	<b>3,448</b>	<b>3,436</b>	<b>3,644</b>	<b>3,781</b>	<b>3,781</b>
<b>Total - All Destinations</b>	<b>4,308</b>	<b>6,978</b>	<b>7,186</b>	<b>6,936</b>	<b>6,936</b>

**Note:** These are my calculations based on the listings in Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 3-3 Vessels Clearing New London: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Destination</b>	<b>Y-1768</b>	<b>Y-1769</b>	<b>Y-1770</b>	<b>Y-1770</b>	<b>Y-1772</b>
Newfoundland	0	0	2	1	0
Quebec	1	1	0	0	2
Nova Scotia	11	11	13	11	6
<b>Canada</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>8</b>
New Hampshire	1	1	0	2	2
Massachusetts	93	93	114	68	87
Rhode Island	38	38	31	23	37
<b>New England</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>126</b>
New York	91	91	89	85	97
New Jersey	7	7	6	2	2
Pennsylvania	2	2	9	8	2
<b>Middle Colonies</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>101</b>
Maryland	0	0	0	0	0
Virginia	1	1	0	2	1
<b>Chesapeake</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>
North Carolina	5	5	6	1	1
South Carolina	6	6	2	1	4
Georgia	1	1	0	0	0
Florida	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Lower South</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Bermuda &amp; Bahamas Islands</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Great Britain &amp; Ireland</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Southern Europe &amp; Wine Islands</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Africa</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

**Table 3-3 (continued)**

<b>West Indies</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>174</b>
<b>Total - All Destinations</b>	<b>407</b>	<b>407</b>	<b>448</b>	<b>371</b>	<b>421</b>

**Note:** These are my calculations based on the listings in Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

Table 3-4 Tonnage Clearing New London: 1768 – 1772

<b>Destination</b>	<b>Y-1768</b>	<b>Y-1769</b>	<b>Y-1770</b>	<b>Y-1770</b>	<b>Y-1772</b>
Newfoundland	0	0	75	40	0
Quebec	0	45	0	50	0
Nova Scotia	0	311	257	140	0
<b>Canada</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>356</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>0</b>
New Hampshire	0	30	0	125	70
Massachusetts	174	1,493	3,015	1,776	2,476
Rhode Island	191	484	453	336	607
<b>New England</b>	<b>365</b>	<b>2,007</b>	<b>3,468</b>	<b>2,237</b>	<b>3,153</b>
New York	786	1,870	1,903	1,696	1,861
New Jersey	0	104	94	35	0
Pennsylvania	0	50	229	172	40
<b>Middle Colonies</b>	<b>786</b>	<b>2,024</b>	<b>2,226</b>	<b>1,903</b>	<b>1,901</b>
Maryland	0	20	0	60	30
Virginia	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Chesapeake</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
North Carolina	145	141	150	20	20
South Carolina	0	160	40	20	155
Georgia	0	20	0	0	0
Florida	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Lower South</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>175</b>
<b>Bermuda &amp; Bahamas Islands</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Great Britain &amp; Ireland</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>351</b>
<b>Southern Europe &amp; Wine Islands</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>270</b>
<b>Africa</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

**Table 3-4 (continued)**

<b>West Indies</b>	<b>5,283</b>	<b>5,555</b>	<b>6,279</b>	<b>6,236</b>	<b>6,822</b>
<b>Total Tonnage Clearing</b>	<b>6,949</b>	<b>10,778</b>	<b>12,991</b>	<b>10,786</b>	<b>12,672</b>

**Note:** These are my calculations based on the listings in Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.



Table 3-5 Vessels Entering New Haven: 1768 – 1772

Entering From:	Y-1768	Y-1769	Y-1770	Y-1771	Y-1772
Newfoundland	0	0	0	0	0
Quebec	0	0	0	0	0
Nova Scotia	2	0	2	0	0
<b>Canada</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
New Hampshire	0	5	3	2	2
Massachusetts	7	44	50	44	44
Rhode Island	1	9	9	3	3
<b>New England</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>49</b>
New York	16	90	71	83	83
New Jersey	0	0	0	0	0
Pennsylvania	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Middle Colonies</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>83</b>
Maryland	1	0	0	0	0
Virginia	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Chesapeake</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
North Carolina	0	2	1	2	2
South Carolina	0	0	0	0	0
Georgia	0	0	0	0	0
Florida	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Lower South</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Bermuda &amp; Bahamas Islands</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Great Britain &amp; Ireland</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Southern Europe &amp; Wine Islands</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Africa</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

**Table 3-5 (continued)**

<b>West Indies</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>Total Vessels Entering</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>218</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>224</b>

**Note:** These are my calculations based on the listings in Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 3-6 Tonnage Entering New Haven: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Entering From:</b>	<b>Y-1768</b>	<b>Y-1769</b>	<b>Y-1770</b>	<b>Y-1771</b>	<b>Y-1772</b>
Newfoundland	0	0	0	0	0
Quebec	0	0	0	0	0
Nova Scotia	64	0	24	0	0
<b>Canada</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
New Hampshire	0	133	57	46	46
Massachusetts	218	1,205	1,425	1,243	1,243
Rhode Island	30	149	118	69	69
<b>New England</b>	<b>248</b>	<b>1,487</b>	<b>1,600</b>	<b>1,358</b>	<b>1,358</b>
New York	362	1,902	1,571	1,839	1,839
New Jersey	0	0	0	0	0
Pennsylvania	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Middle Colonies</b>	<b>362</b>	<b>1,902</b>	<b>1,571</b>	<b>1,839</b>	<b>1,839</b>
Maryland	20	0	0	0	0
Virginia	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Chesapeake</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
North Carolina	0	40	14	45	45
South Carolina	0	0	0	0	0
Georgia	0	0	0	0	0
Florida	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Lower South</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>Bermuda &amp; Bahamas Islands</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Great Britain &amp; Ireland</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>210</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Southern Europe &amp; Wine Islands</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Africa</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

**Table 3-6 (continued)**

<b>West Indies</b>	<b>3,513</b>	<b>2,915</b>	<b>3,135</b>	<b>3,568</b>	<b>3,568</b>
<b>Total Tonnage Entering</b>	<b>4,267</b>	<b>6,394</b>	<b>6,554</b>	<b>6,810</b>	<b>6,810</b>

**Note:** These are my calculations based on the listings in Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 3-7 Vessels Entering New London: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Entering From:</b>	<b>Y-1768</b>	<b>Y-1769</b>	<b>Y-1770</b>	<b>Y-1771</b>	<b>Y-1772</b>
Newfoundland	0	0	1	0	0
Quebec	0	1	4	10	4
Nova Scotia	0	14	13	13	19
<b>Canada</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>23</b>
New Hampshire	2	2	1	0	2
Massachusetts	37	105	123	81	92
Rhode Island	7	44	38	30	40
<b>New England</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>134</b>
New York	31	82	92	68	105
New Jersey	0	6	6	5	0
Pennsylvania	1	3	8	10	4
<b>Middle Colonies</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>109</b>
Maryland	0	0	0	0	0
Virginia	1	0	0	0	2
<b>Chesapeake</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>
North Carolina	0	0	0	0	0
South Carolina	0	0	0	0	0
Georgia	0	0	0	0	0
Florida	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Lower South</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Bermuda &amp; Bahamas Islands</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Great Britain &amp; Ireland</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Southern Europe &amp; Wine Islands</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Africa</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

**Table 3-7 (continued)**

<b>West Indies</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>129</b>
<b>Total Vessels Entering</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>391</b>	<b>431</b>	<b>358</b>	<b>404</b>

**Note:** These are my calculations based on the listings in Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 3-8 Tonnage Entering New London: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Entering From:</b>	<b>Y-1768</b>	<b>Y-1769</b>	<b>Y-1770</b>	<b>Y-1771</b>	<b>Y-1772</b>
Newfoundland	0	0	35	0	0
Quebec	0	45	93	285	130
Nova Scotia	0	299	255	282	460
<b>Canada</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>344</b>	<b>383</b>	<b>567</b>	<b>590</b>
New Hampshire	40	45	20	0	60
Massachusetts	1,181	3,091	3,567	2,442	2,937
Rhode Island	188	596	680	514	658
<b>New England</b>	<b>1,409</b>	<b>3,732</b>	<b>4,267</b>	<b>2,956</b>	<b>3,655</b>
New York	627	2,063	2,068	1,373	2,137
New Jersey	0	188	67	67	0
Pennsylvania	35	70	203	270	145
<b>Middle Colonies</b>	<b>662</b>	<b>2,321</b>	<b>2,338</b>	<b>1,710</b>	<b>2,282</b>
Maryland	0	0	0	0	0
Virginia	12	0	0	0	60
<b>Chesapeake</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>60</b>
North Carolina	43	75	20	95	30
South Carolina	30	70	70	30	75
Georgia	0	0	0	0	0
Florida	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Lower South</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>Bermuda &amp; Bahamas Islands</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Great Britain &amp; Ireland</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>156</b>
<b>Southern Europe &amp; Wine Islands</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>Africa</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

**Table 3-8 (continued)**

<b>West Indies</b>	<b>4,856</b>	<b>4,875</b>	<b>5,521</b>	<b>4,974</b>	<b>5,165</b>
<b>Total Tonnage Entering</b>	<b>7,337</b>	<b>11,622</b>	<b>12,599</b>	<b>10,687</b>	<b>12,083</b>

**Note:** These are my calculations based on the listings in Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.



**Table 3-9 Value of New Haven Exports to the West Indies: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Commodities</b>	<b>Quantity Exported</b>	<b>PPU</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>
<b>Apples - Common</b>			
1768	8		
1769	8		
1770	8		
<b>Total</b>	24		
<b>Bread &amp; Flour (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	303 bbs		
1769	89 t, 6 cwt		
1770	83 t, 6 cwt		
1771	26 t, 10 cwt		
1772	26 t, 10 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	226 t	<b>11/T</b>	<b>2,486.00</b>
<b>Bricks (n)</b>			
1768	1,500		
1769	3,500		
1770	8,600		
1771	3,000		
1772	3,000		
<b>Total</b>	19,600	<b>0.0005</b>	<b>98.00</b>
<b>Candles - Spermaceti (lbs)</b>			
1769	624		
<b>Total</b>	624	<b>.062/lbs</b>	<b>38.68</b>
<b>Candles - Tallow (lbs)</b>			
1769	120		
<b>Total</b>	120	<b>0.02</b>	<b>2.40</b>
<b>Carriages - chairs</b>	3		
<b>Carriages - waggons</b>	3		

Table 3-9 (continued)

<b>Cattle</b>			
1768	1,229		
1769	996		
1770	1,207		
1771	1,373		
1772	1,305		
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,110</b>	<b>4.5L</b>	<b>27,495.00</b>
<b>Cheese (lbs)</b>			
1768	800		
1771	1,000		
1772	1,000		
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,800</b>	<b>0.016</b>	<b>44.80</b>
<b>Fish - Dried (q)</b>			
1769	20		
1770	50		
<b>Total</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>0.568</b>	<b>39.76</b>
<b>Fish - Pickled (bbs)</b>			
1768	78		
1769	379		
1770	278		
1771	223		
1772	223		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,181</b>	<b>0.75</b>	<b>885.75</b>
<b>Furniture - Desks</b>			
1770	3		
<b>Hams</b>			
1771	26		
1772	26		
<b>Total</b>	<b>52</b>		

Table 3-9 (continued)

<b>Hoops (n)</b>			
1768	85,500		
1769	513,500		
1770	473,000		
1771	648,500		
1772	648,509		
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,369,009</b>	<b>0.00225</b>	<b>5,330.27</b>
<b>Hoops Tress (sets)</b>			
1768	26		
1769	26		
1772	8		
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>		
<b>Horses (n)</b>			
1768	894		
1769	1,248		
1770	1,412		
1771	1,305		
1772	1,373		
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,232</b>	<b>14.25L/ea.</b>	<b>88,806.00</b>
<b>Indian Corn (bus)</b>			
1768	6,010		
1769	950		
1770	5,140		
1771	1,900		
1772	1,900		
<b>Total</b>	<b>15,900</b>	<b>0.0749</b>	<b>1,190.91</b>
<b>Iron - Bar (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1771	1 t		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1 t</b>	<b>14.96/T</b>	<b>14.96</b>

Table 3-9 (continued)

<b>Meal (bus)</b>			
1771	180		
1772	180		
<b>Total</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>3.60</b>
<b>Oak Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1769	36,000		
1770	23,000		
1771	36,000		
1772	36,000		
<b>Total</b>	<b>131,000</b>	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>170.30</b>
<b>Oars (ft)</b>			
1768	8,400		
1769	21,700		
1770	3,800		
1771	3,600		
1772	3,600		
<b>Total</b>	<b>41,100</b>	<b>0.00625</b>	<b>256.87</b>
<b>Oats (bbs)</b>			
1768	3,200		
1769 - and Rye	3,800		
1770	4,050		
1771	2,050		
1772	2,050		
<b>Total</b>	<b>15,150</b>	<b>0.05</b>	<b>757.50</b>
<b>Oil - Fish</b>			
1770	2 t, 126 g		
1771	31 g		
1772	5 t, 80 g		
<b>Total</b>	<b>7 t, 237 g</b>	<b>.059/g</b>	<b>943.23</b>
<b>Oil - Linseed</b>			

Table 3-9 (continued)

1770	2 t, 126 g		
<b>Total</b>	2 t, 126 g	<b>2.9/t</b>	<b>5.80</b>
<b>Onions - bushels</b>			
1770	146		
1772	512		
<b>Total</b>	<b>658</b>	<b>0.004</b>	<b>2.63</b>
<b>Onions - ropes</b>			
1768 - bunches	6,550		
1769	18,200		
1770	16,750		
1771	6,200		
1772	27,265		
<b>Total</b>	<b>74,965</b>	<b>0.004</b>	<b>299.86</b>
<b>Peas (bus)</b>			
1769	179		
1770	0		
1771	15		
1772 - & Beans	15		
<b>Total</b>	<b>209</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>41.80</b>
<b>Pine Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1768	886,000		
1770	7,000		
1771	68,500		
1772	68,500		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,030,000</b>	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>1,339.00</b>
<b>Pitch</b>			
1769	33	<b>0.349</b>	<b>11.51</b>
<b>Pork &amp; Beef (t, cwt, q, bbs)</b>			
1768	414 bbs		

Table 3-9 (continued)

1769	39 t, 4 cwt		
1770	56 t, 4 cwt		
1771	278 bbs		
1772	278 bbs		
<b>Total</b>	1,937	<b>2.12/BBS</b>	<b>4,106.44</b>
<b>Potatoes (bus)</b>			
1768	12		
1769	15		
1770	42		
<b>Total</b>	69	<b>0.0375</b>	<b>2.58</b>
<b>Poultry (doz)</b>			
1768	1,531		
1769	970		
1770	69		
1771	969		
1772	969		
<b>Total</b>	4,508	<b>0.45</b>	<b>2,028.60</b>
<b>Sheep (n)</b>			
1768	2,681		
1769	4,600		
1770	1,795		
1771	2,075		
1772	1,075		
<b>Total</b>	12,226	<b>0.35</b>	<b>4,279.10</b>
<b>Shingles (n)</b>			
1768	373,000		
1769	481,000		
1770	501,000		
1771	458,000		
1772	458,000		
<b>Total</b>	2,271,000	<b>0.000397</b>	<b>901.59</b>

Table 3-9 (continued)

<b>Shook Hogsheads</b>			
1769	90		
1770	260		
1771	125		
1772	125		
<b>Total</b>	600	<b>0.125</b>	<b>75.00</b>
<b>Staves (n)</b>			
1768	283,000		
1769	706,000		
1770	657,000		
1771	776,000		
1772	776,000		
<b>Total</b>	3,198,000	<b>0.00299</b>	<b>9,562.02</b>
<b>Tallow &amp; Lard (lbs)</b>			
1768	4,370		
1769	3,100		
1770	2,510		
1771	7,740		
1772	7,740		
<b>Total</b>	25,460	<b>0.02</b>	<b>509.20</b>
<b>Tar (bbs)</b>			
1769	10	<b>0.3</b>	<b>30.00</b>
<b>Timber - Oak (t)</b>			
1768	7 t		
1770	41 t, 10 ft		
<b>Total</b>	48 t, 10 ft	<b>.9/T</b>	<b>43.20</b>
<b>Timber - Pine (t, ft)</b>			
1769	4 t		
1770	2 t		

**Table 3-9 (continued)**

1772	43 t		
<b>Total</b>	49 t	<b>.4/T</b>	<b>19.60</b>
<b>Wine of the Azores (t, g)</b>			
1769	90 g		
<b>Total</b>	90 g	<b>54/T</b>	<b>2.16</b>
<b>Total All Commodities</b>			<b>151,824.12</b>

**Note:** Commodity totals are my calculations based on the listings in Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.



**Table 3-10 Value of New London Exports to the West Indies: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Commodity Exported</b>	<b>Quantity Exported</b>	<b>PPU (£)</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>
<b>Apples - Common</b>			
1768	183		
1769	100.5		
1770	61		
1771	8		
1772	62		
<b>Total</b>	415		
<b>Axes (n)</b>			
1769	372		
1770	300		
1771	270		
1772	400		
<b>Total</b>	1,342		
<b>Beeswax (lbs)</b>	43	<b>0.049</b>	<b>2.11</b>
<b>Boats (n)</b>			
1772	1	<b>20L/ea.</b>	<b>20.00</b>
<b>Bread &amp; Flour (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	1 t, 1179 bbs		
1769	216 t, 12 cwt		
1770	228 bbs		
1771	227 t, 2 cwt, 3 q		
1772	90 bbs		
<b>Total</b>	566 t	<b>11/T</b>	<b>6,226.00</b>
<b>Bricks (n)</b>			
1768	264,250		
1769	250,250		
1770	267,600		
1771	186,150		

Table 3-10 (continued)

1772	197,100		
<b>Total</b>	1,165,350	<b>0.0005</b>	<b>582.68</b>
<b>Butter (lbs.)</b>			
1768	107		
1770	15,079		
1771	11,160		
1772	18,200		
<b>Total</b>	44,546	<b>0.02</b>	<b>890.92</b>
<b>Candles - Spermaceti (lbs)</b>			
1768	4,425		
1769	7,575		
1770	5,780		
1771	5,340		
1772	6,275		
<b>Total</b>	29,395	<b>0.062</b>	<b>1,822.49</b>
<b>Candles - Tallow (lbs)</b>			
1768	640		
1769	1,800		
1770	100		
1771	674		
1772	150		
<b>Total</b>	3,364	<b>0.02</b>	<b>67.28</b>
<b>Carriages - chaises</b>	9		
<b>Carriages - chairs</b>	2		
<b>Carriages - waggons</b>	10		
<b>Cattle</b>			
1768	1,347		
1769	1,036		
1770	1,109		

**Table 3-10 (continued)**

1771	1,456		
1772	1,616		
<b>Total</b>	6,564	<b>4.5L</b>	<b>29,538.00</b>
<b>Cheese (lbs)</b>			
1768	16,619		
1770	10,370		
1771	31,986		
1772	52,071		
<b>Total</b>	111,046	<b>0.016</b>	<b>1776.74</b>
<b>Clapboards (n)</b>	2,000	<b>0.00175</b>	<b>3.50</b>
<b>Fish - Dried (q)</b>			
1768	1,544		
1769	2,593		
1770	5,598		
1771	4,746		
1772	7,505		
<b>Total</b>	21,986	<b>0.568</b>	<b>12,488.05</b>
<b>Fish - Pickled (bbs)</b>			
1768	1065.3 q		
1769	1731.5 q		
1770	1,695 bbs		
1771	1,074 bbs		
1772	1,071 bbs		
<b>Total</b>	3,836.40	<b>0.75</b>	<b>2,877.30</b>
<b>Furniture - Chairs</b>			
1770	7		
1771	7		
<b>Total</b>	14		

**Table 3-10 (continued)**

<b>Furniture - Desks</b>			
1768	8		
1769	10		
1770	15		
1771	10		
<b>Total</b>	43		
<b>Furniture - Tables</b>			
1769	3		
1770	12		
<b>Total</b>	15		
<b>Hoops (n)</b>			
1768	525,650		
1769	383,034		
1770	367,105		
1771	486,790		
1772	491,200		
<b>Total</b>	2,253,779	<b>0.00225</b>	<b>5,071.00</b>
<b>Hoops Tress (sets)</b>			
1769	16		
1772	9		
<b>Total</b>	27		
<b>Horses (n)</b>			
1768	2,734		
1769	2,995		
1770	3,629		
1771	3,162		
1772	2,957		
<b>Total</b>	15,477	<b>14.25L/each</b>	<b>220,547.25</b>
<b>Indian Corn (bus)</b>			
1768	2,133		

Table 3-10 (continued)

1769	900		
1770	2,912		
1771	1,465		
1772	204		
<b>Total</b>	7,614	<b>0.0749</b>	<b>570.29</b>
<b>Iron - Bar (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	14 cwt, 37 lbs		
1769	5 t, 10 cwt		
1770	9 t		
1772	1 t, 14 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	15 T	<b>14.96/T</b>	<b>224.40</b>
<b>Iron - Cast (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>	6 cwt, 2 q	<b>16.5/T</b>	<b>4.95</b>
<b>Lampblack (bbs)</b>	60 casks		
<b>Leather (lbs)</b>	120		
<b>Lime (bus)</b>	9		
<b>Malt &amp; Meal (bus)</b>	67	<b>0.1</b>	<b>6.70</b>
<b>Oak Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1768	28,890		
1769	62,490		
1770	64,881		
1771	65,510		
1772	79,226		
<b>Total</b>	300,997	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>391.30</b>
<b>Oars (ft)</b>			
1768	6,187		
1769	8,550		
1770	12,868		

**Table 3-10 (continued)**

1771	14,687		
1772	2,000		
<b>Total</b>	44,292	<b>0.00625</b>	<b>276.83</b>
<b>Oats (bbs)</b>			
1769	257		
1770	300		
1771	2,146		
1772	348		
<b>Total</b>	3,051	<b>0.05</b>	<b>152.55</b>
<b>Oil - Whale (bbs)</b>	16 t, 4.5 g	<b>15/T</b>	<b>240.00</b>
<b>Oil - Fish</b>			
1768	7 t, 220 g		
1770	16 t, 157 g		
1771	3 t 156 g		
1772	2 t, 220 g		
<b>Total</b>	63,473 g	<b>0.059</b>	<b>3,744.90</b>
<b>Oil - Linseed</b>			
1769	2 t, 188 g		
1770	2 t, 126 g		
<b>Total</b>	4 t, 314 g	<b>2.9/t</b>	<b>11.60</b>
<b>Onions - bushels</b>			
1768	6		
1769	154		
1770	146		
1771	142		
1772	512		
<b>Total</b>	960	<b>0.004</b>	<b>3.84</b>
<b>Onions - ropes</b>			
1768	99,278		

**Table 3-10 (continued)**

1769	124,683		
1770	125,902		
1771	105,394		
1772	64,294		
<b>Total</b>	519,551	<b>0.004</b>	<b>2,078.20</b>
<b>Peas (bus)</b>			
1768	140		
1769	179		
1770	479		
1771	285		
1772	612		
<b>Total</b>	1,695	<b>0.2</b>	<b>339.00</b>
<b>Pine Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1768	219,263		
1769	135,244		
1770	170,461		
1771	267,492		
1772	322,727		
<b>Total</b>	1,115,187	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>1,449.74</b>
<b>Pitch</b>	8	<b>0.349</b>	<b>2.79</b>
<b>Pork &amp; Beef (t, cwt, q, bbs)</b>			
1768	4,236.5 bbs		
1769	39 t		
1770	380 t		
1771	2677.5 bbs		
1772	3,407 bbs		
<b>Total</b>	14,568	<b>2.12/bbs</b>	<b>30,884.16</b>
<b>Potatoes (bus)</b>			
1768	424		
1769	612		
1770	270		

Table 3-10 (continued)

1771	259		
1772	532		
<b>Total</b>	2,097	<b>0.0375</b>	<b>78.64</b>
<b>Poultry (doz)</b>			
1768	756.3		
1769	859		
1770	814		
1771	1,019		
1772	1,148		
<b>Total</b>	4,596	<b>0.45</b>	<b>2,068.34</b>
<b>Rum - New England (g)</b>			
1769	340		
1772	600		
<b>Total</b>	900	<b>0.062</b>	<b>55.80</b>
<b>Salt (bus)</b>			
1769	46		
1772	73		
<b>Total</b>	119	<b>0.051</b>	<b>6.07</b>
<b>Sassafras (lbs)</b>	300		
<b>Sheep (n)</b>			
1768	5,625		
1769	1,820		
1770	4,588		
1771	4,182		
1772	4,819		
<b>Total</b>	21,034	<b>0.35</b>	<b>7,361.90</b>
<b>Shingles (n)</b>			
1768	893,464		
1769	728,288		



**Table 3-10 (continued)**

1770	797,292		
1771	703,763		
1772	427,392		
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,550,199</b>	<b>0.000397</b>	<b>1,409.43</b>
<b>Shoes (pairs)</b>			
1768	100		
1769	320		
1770	200		
1771	50		
1772	40		
<b>Total</b>	<b>710</b>	<b>0.125</b>	<b>88.75</b>
<b>Shook Hogsheads</b>			
1768	3,178		
1769	6,454		
1770	7,019		
1771	9,290		
1772	8,005		
<b>Total</b>	<b>33,946</b>	<b>0.125</b>	<b>4,243.25</b>
<b>Soap - Hard (lbs)</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>0.025</b>	<b>5.00</b>
<b>Soap (boxes)</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0.025</b>	<b>0.13</b>
<b>Staves (n)</b>			
1768	609,063		
1769	712,408		
1770	752,501		
1771	709,467		
1772	975,865		
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,759,304</b>	<b>0.00299</b>	<b>11,240.32</b>
<b>Sundry Articles</b>			<b>54.00</b>
<b>Tallow &amp; Lard (lbs)</b>			

**Table 3-10 (continued)**

1768	10,000		
1769	23,200		
1770	17,000		
1771	10,700		
1772	15,300		
<b>Total</b>	<b>76,200</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>1,524.00</b>
<b>Tar (bbs)</b>			
1769	7		
1770	16		
1771	15		
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>11.40</b>
<b>Timber - Pine (t, ft)</b>	<b>53 t, 20 ft</b>	<b>.4/T</b>	<b>21.20</b>
<b>Tobacco (lbs)</b>			
1768	23,228		
1769	13,851		
1771	2,910		
<b>Total</b>	<b>39,989</b>	<b>0.019</b>	<b>759.79</b>
<b>Turpentine (bbs)</b>			
1768	10		
1770	16		
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>10.40</b>
<b>Wine of the Azores (t, g)</b>			
1768	112 g		
1769	1 t, 83 g		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1 t, 195 g</b>	<b>54/T</b>	<b>54.00</b>
<b>Total All Commodities</b>			<b>351,286.96</b>

**Note:** Commodity totals are my calculations based on the listings in Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

Table 3-11 Value of New Haven's Exports in the Coastal Trade: 1768 – 1772

Commodities	Quantity Exported	PPU	Value (£)
<b>Apples - Common</b>			
1768	51		
1770	10		
1771	55		
<b>Total</b>	<b>116</b>		
<b>Ashes - Pearl (t, cwt)</b>			
1768	4t, 16cwt		
1769	12t, 17 cwt		
1770	15t, 3 cwt		
1771	7t, 16 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	<b>38t, 52 cwt</b>	<b>40L/T</b>	<b>1,520</b>
<b>Ashes - Pot (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	9t, 1cwt		
1769	39t, 9cwt		
1770	38t, 2cwt, 3q, 15 lbs		
1771	74t, 14cwt		
<b>Total</b>	<b>160t, 26cwt, 3q, 15lbs</b>	<b>30L/T</b>	<b>4,800</b>
<b>Axes (n)</b>			
1769	43		
1770	64		
1771	55		
<b>Total</b>	<b>162</b>		
<b>Barley (bus.)</b>			
1769	210		
1770	450		
1771	270		
<b>Total</b>	<b>930</b>		
<b>Beer (lbs.)</b>			

Table 3-11 (continued)

<b>1769</b>	204		
<b>1770</b>	40		
<b>1771</b>	27		
<b>Total</b>	<b>271</b>		
<b>Beeswax (lbs)</b>			
<b>1768</b>	179		
<b>1770</b>	80		
<b>Total</b>	<b>259</b>	1.33s/lbs	
<b>Bran (bus)</b>			
<b>1768</b>	72		
<b>1769</b>	730		
<b>1770</b>	385		
<b>Total</b>	1,187		
<b>Brass &amp; Old (lbs)</b>			
<b>1770</b>	359		
<b>1771</b>	220		
<b>Total</b>	579		
<b>Bread &amp; Flour (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	19 t, 8 cwt		
1769	421 t, 18 cwt		
1770	170 t, 7cwt		
1771	65 t, 9 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	675 t, 42 cwt	11/T	<b>7,425</b>
<b>Bricks (n)</b>			
1769	9,000		
1771	210		
<b>Total</b>	9,210	0.0005	<b>4.6</b>
<b>Butter (lbs.)</b>			
1771	1,120		

Table 3-11 (continued)

<b>Total</b>	1,120	0.02	<b>22.4</b>
<b>Candles - Spermaceti (lbs)</b>			
1769	650		
1770	25		
<b>Total</b>	675	.062/lbs	<b>41.85</b>
<b>Candles - Tallow (lbs)</b>			
1769	30		
1770	50		
1771	3,500		
<b>Total</b>	3,580	0.02	<b>71.6</b>
<b>Carriages - chaises</b>	1		
<b>Cattle</b>	28	4.5L	<b>126</b>
<b>Cheese (lbs)</b>			
1768	1,200		
1769	6,701		
1770	6,930		
1771	6,700		
<b>Total</b>	21,531	0.016	<b>344.49</b>
<b>Chocolate (lbs)</b>			
1770	44		
1771	100		
<b>Total</b>	144	0.056	<b>8.06</b>
<b>Cocoa (lbs)</b>			
1769	3,900		
1770	1,840		
1771	45,367		
<b>Total</b>	51,107	0.0249	<b>1,272.56</b>

Table 3-11 (continued)

<b>Cordage (lbs)</b>			
1769	14 cwt		
1771	4 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	18 cwt		
<b>Cotton (lbs)</b>			
1768	1,180		
1769	1,362		
1771	145		
<b>Total</b>	2,687	0.05	<b>134.35</b>
<b>Dyewoods - Logwood</b>	20 t		
<b>Earthenware (hh)</b>	3		
<b>Feathers (lbs)</b>			
1768	205		
1769	1,682		
1770	300		
1771	1,050		
<b>Total</b>	3,237		
<b>Fish - Dried (q)</b>			
1768	144		
1769	301		
1770	8		
1771	37		
<b>Total</b>	490	0.568	<b>278.32</b>
<b>Fish - Pickled (bbs)</b>			
1768	343.5		
1771	10		
<b>Total</b>	353.5	0.75	<b>265.12</b>
<b>Flax (lbs)</b>			
1768	4,433		

Table 3-11 (continued)

1769	173,230		
1770	102,820		
1771	185,600		
<b>Total</b>	<b>466,083</b>	0.031	<b>14,448.57</b>
<b>Flaxseed (lbs)</b>			
1768	18,590		
1769	12,680		
1770	18,920		
1771	8,424		
<b>Total</b>	<b>58,614</b>	0.112	<b>6,564.76</b>
<b>Furniture - Chairs</b>			
1769	6		
1771	24		
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>		
<b>Furniture - Desks</b>	3		
<b>Furniture - Drawer Cases</b>	1		
<b>Ginger (cwt)</b>			
1768	14		
1770	8		
<b>Total</b>	22	0.447	<b>9.83</b>
<b>Hams</b>			
1770	1.5		
1771	3.5		
<b>Total</b>	5		
<b>Hay (t)</b>			
1768	7 t		
1769	11 t		
1770	12 t, 10 cwt		
1771	3 t		

**Table 3-11 (continued)**

<b>Total</b>	33 t, 10 cwt	2.48/T	<b>81.84</b>
<b>Hoops (n)</b>			
1768	133,000		
1769	500		
1770	9,000		
<b>Total</b>	142,500	0.00225	<b>320.62</b>
<b>Hops (lbs)</b>	15		
<b>Horses (n)</b>			
1769	19		
1771	4		
<b>Total</b>	23	14.25L/each	<b>327.75</b>
<b>Indian Corn (bus)</b>			
1768	3,376		
1769	21,089		
1770	30,622		
1771	20,386		
<b>Total</b>	75,473	0.0749	<b>5,652.92</b>
<b>Indigo (lbs)</b>			
1770	512		
1771	12		
<b>Total</b>	524	0.225	<b>117.90</b>
<b>Iron - Bar (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1769	16 cwt		
1771	1 t		
<b>Total</b>	1 t, 16 cwt	14.96/T	<b>14.96</b>
<b>Iron - Cast (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1769	1 t, 2 cwt		
1770	1 t, 15 cwt		



Table 3-11 (continued)

1771	1 t, 16 cwt, 2 q, 24 lbs		
<b>Total</b>	3 t, 33 cwt, 2 q, 24 lbs	16.5/T	<b>49.50</b>
<b>Iron - Pig (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1771	16 t		
<b>Total</b>	16 t	5/T	<b>30.00</b>
<b>Logwood (t)</b>			
1769	196 t		
<b>Lime (bus)</b>			
1769	20		
1770	40		
<b>Total</b>	60		
<b>Limes (bbs)</b>			
1769	4		
1771	17		
<b>Total</b>	21		
<b>Mahogany (ft)</b>			
1771	27,000		
<b>Malt &amp; Meal (bus)</b>			
1769	50		
1771	43		
<b>Total</b>	93	0.1	<b>9.30</b>
<b>Molasses (g)</b>			
1768	4,024		
1769	33,266		
1770	46,661		
1771	62,557		
<b>Total</b>	146,508	0.049	<b>7,178.89</b>
<b>Myrtlewax (lbs)</b>			

Table 3-11 (continued)

1769	1,420		
1770	150		
<b>Total</b>	1,570		
<b>Oak Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1770	3,000		
<b>Total</b>	3,000	0.0013	<b>3.90</b>
<b>Oakum (cwt)</b>	3 cwt		
<b>Oars</b>			
1768	800		
1769	56,400		
1770	8,200		
1771	25,000		
<b>Total</b>	<b>90,400</b>	0.00625	<b>565</b>
<b>Oats (bbs)</b>			
1768	5,219		
1769	14,025		
1770	12,652		
1771	12,517		
<b>Total</b>	<b>44,413</b>	0.05	<b>2,220.65</b>
<b>Oil - Blubber (bbs)</b>			
1770	3		
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	15/T	<b>45.00</b>
<b>Oil - Fish</b>			
1769	11 t, 221 g		
1770	12 t, 63 g		
1771	1 t, 63 g		
<b>Total</b>	<b>24 t, 347 g</b>	.059/g	<b>377.30</b>
<b>Oil - Linseed</b>			
1771	30		

Table 3-11 (continued)

<b>Total</b>	30	4s (per bbs)	<b>4.51</b>
<b>Onions - bushels</b>			
1770	680		
1771	30		
<b>Total</b>	710	0.004	<b>2.84</b>
<b>Onions - ropes</b>			
1768	700		
1769	200		
1770	2,900		
1771	2,000		
<b>Total</b>	5,800	0.004	<b>23.20</b>
<b>Paper (reams)</b>			
<b>1769</b>	2		
<b>1770</b>	35		
<b>1771</b>	100		
<b>Total</b>	137		
<b>Peas (bus)</b>			
1768	648		
1769	1,329		
1770	727		
1771	541		
<b>Total</b>	3,245	0.2	<b>649</b>
<b>Pine Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1768	600		
<b>Total</b>	600	0.0013	<b>0.78</b>
<b>Pitch (bbs)</b>	3	0.349	<b>1.04</b>
<b>Pork &amp; Beef (bbs)</b>			
1768	917.5 bbs		
1769	376 t, 14 cwt		

**Table 3-11 (continued)**

1770	359 t, 10 cwt		
1771	3190 bbs		
<b>Total</b>	11,590.5 bbs (converted)	2.12/bbs	<b>24,571.86</b>
<b>Potatoes</b>			
1768	1,084		
1769	250		
1770	300		
1771	40		
<b>Total</b>	1,674	0.0375	<b>62.77</b>
<b>Poultry (doz)</b>	10	0.45	<b>4.50</b>
<b>Rice (bbs)</b>			
<b>1769</b>	1		
<b>1770</b>	2		
<b>1771</b>	1		
<b>Total</b>	4	2.25	<b>9.00</b>
<b>Rum - New England (g)</b>			
1768	5,834		
1769	1,929		
1770	3,670		
1771	6,650		
<b>Total</b>	18,083	0.062	<b>1,482.85</b>
<b>Rum - West Indian</b>			
1768	5,834		
1769	78,553		
1770	66,040		
1771	72,190		
<b>Total</b>	222,617	0.1	<b>22,261.70</b>
<b>Rye (bus)</b>			
1769	16,640		

**Table 3-11 (continued)**

1770	16,006		
1771	14,145		
<b>Total</b>	46,791	0.05	<b>2,339.55</b>
<b>Salt (bus)</b>			
1768	2,796		
1769	3,921		
1770	2,420		
1771	9,900		
<b>Total</b>	19,037	0.051	<b>970.88</b>
<b>Sheep (n)</b>			
1768	151		
1769	40		
1771	80		
<b>Total</b>	271	0.35	<b>94.85</b>
<b>Shingles (n)</b>			
1769	11,000		
1770	65,000		
<b>Total</b>	76,000	0.000397	<b>30.17</b>
<b>Shoes (pairs)</b>			
1769	62		
1770	80		
<b>Total</b>	142	0.125	<b>17.75</b>
<b>Shook Hogsheads</b>			
1769	48		
1770	51		
1771	250		
<b>Total</b>	349	0.125	<b>43.62</b>
<b>Soap - Hard (lbs)</b>			
1770	50		
<b>Soap - Soft (bbs)</b>			

**Table 3-11 (continued)**

1770	19		
<b>Spinning Wheels</b>			
1770	30		
1771	24		
<b>Total</b>	54		
<b>Staves (n)</b>			
1768	10,800		
1769	27,500		
1770	75,000		
<b>Total</b>	113,300	0.00299	<b>338.76</b>
<b>Sugar - Brown (cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	104 cwt		
1769	551 cwt, 1 q, 14 lbs		
1770	232 cwt, 3 q, 16 lbs		
1771	547 cwt, 3 q, 1 lb		
<b>Total</b>	1,330 cwt	1.578	<b>2,098.74</b>
<b>Sugar - Loaf (lbs)</b>			
1769	118		
<b>Total</b>	118	0.031	<b>3.65</b>
<b>Tallow &amp; Lard (lbs)</b>			
1768	6,029		
1769	24,480		
1770	22,675		
1771	18,670		
<b>Total</b>	71,854	0.02	<b>1,437.08</b>
<b>Tar (bbs)</b>		12s	
1769	6		
1771	230		
<b>Total</b>	236	0.3	<b>70.80</b>

**Table 3-11 (continued)**

<b>Tow Cloth (yards)</b>			
1768	1,530		
1769	8,678		
1771	2,610		
<b>Total</b>	12,818		
<b>Turpentine (bbs)</b>	54	0.4	<b>21.60</b>
<b>Whalebone (lbs)</b>	3		
<b>Whalefins (lbs)</b>	450		
<b>Wheat (bus)</b>			
1768	3,157		
1769	21,600		
1770	15,735		
1771	8,807		
<b>Total</b>	49,299	0.175	<b>8,627.32</b>
<b>Wine of the Azores</b>			
1768	1 t, 38 g		
1771	180 g		
<b>Total</b>	1 t, 218 g	54/t	<b>54.00</b>
<b>Total Value - All Commodities</b>		1768-1771	<b>119,556.00</b>
<b>Total Value - All Commodities</b>		1768-1772	<b>151,824.00</b>

**Note:** The above data only covers the years 1768 – 1771, as no commodities were recorded in the customs records for 1772. Thus, to arrive at the figure for that year I have taken the above total of the four years above, £119,556, divided by four (the average annual value for the years 1768 – 1771) and arrived at £29,889. Taking this figure and adding it to the above total for the value of the coastal trade produced a new total of £151,824 as the total value of all commodities exported along the coastal trade from New Haven between 1768-1772.

**Table 3-12 Value of Re-Exported West Indian Commodities in the New Haven Coastal Trade:  
1768 – 1772**

<b>Re-Exported West Indian Commodity</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>	<b>Value (%)</b>
Chocolate (lbs)	8.06	
Cocoa (lbs)	1,272.56	
Cotton (lbs)	134.35	
Ginger (cwt)	9.83	
Indigo (lbs)	117.90	
Molasses (g)	7,178.89	
Rum - New England (g)	1,482.85	
Rum - West Indian (g)	22,261.70	
Salt (bus)	970.88	
Sugar - Brown (cwt, q, lbs)	2,098.74	
Sugar - Loaf (lbs)	3.65	
<b>Total Value – West Indian Re-Exports</b>	<b>35,539.41</b>	<b>29.7%</b>
<b>Total Value - All Commodities Exported</b>	<b>119,556.00</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Note:** The above data only covers the years 1768 – 1771, as no commodities were recorded in the customs records for 1772. Thus, to arrive at the figure for that year I have taken the above total of the four years above, £35,539, divided by four (the average annual value for the years 1768 – 1772) and arrived at £88,4.75. Taking this figure and adding it to the above total for the value of the West Indian re-exported goods produced a new total of £44,423 as the total value of all re-exported West Indian commodities, out of a total of £149,824, from New Haven between 1768-1772.



Table 3-13 New London Exports in the Coastal Trade: 1768 – 1772

Commodity Exported	Quantity Exported	PPU	Value (£)
<b>Anchors (t, cwt, q)</b>			
1769	4 t, 11 cwt, 2 q		
<b>Apples - Common</b>			
1768	1,256		
1770	159		
1771	133		
1772	214		
<b>Total</b>	1,762		
<b>Ashes - Pearl (t, cwt)</b>			
1769	17 t, 5 cwt		
1770	65 t, 15 cwt		
1771	27 t, 10 cwt		
1772	37 t, 10 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	146 t, 40 cwt	40L/T	<b>5,840.00</b>
<b>Ashes - Pot (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	35 t, 10 cwt		
1769	147 t, 5cwt		
1770	155 t, 17 cwt, 2 q		
1771	192 t, 5 cwt		
1772	189 t, 16 cwt, 19 q		
<b>Total</b>	718 t, 53 cwt, 21 q	30L/T	<b>21,600.00</b>
<b>Axes (n)</b>			
1769	168		
1770	128		
1771	126		
1772	66		
<b>Total</b>	488		

Table 3-13 (continued)

<b>Barley (bus.)</b>			
1769	80		
1770	25		
1771	7		
1772	16		
<b>Total</b>	<b>128</b>		
<b>Beer (lbs.)</b>			
1770	443		
1771	159		
1772	100		
<b>Total</b>	<b>702</b>		
<b>Beeswax (lbs)</b>			
1768	1,620		
1769	436		
1770	1,870		
1771	560		
1772	1,617		
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,103</b>	<b>0.049</b>	<b>299.00</b>
<b>Bran (bus)</b>			
1770	150		
1771	212		
<b>Total</b>	<b>362</b>		
<b>Brass &amp; Old (lbs)</b>			
1770	1,280		
1771	2,210		
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,490</b>		
<b>Bread &amp; Flour (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	51 t, 12 cwt, 3 q, 12 lbs		
1769	184 t, 14 cwt, 3.7 q		
1770	257 t, 18 cwt, 1 q, 24 lbs		

**Table 3-13 (continued)**

1771	86 t, 4 cwt, 3 q		
1772	42 t, 7 cwt, 3 q		
<b>Total</b>	620 t, 55 cwt, 13.7 q, 36 lbs	11/T	<b>6,850.25</b>
<b>Bricks (n)</b>			
1769	8,880		
1770	8,000		
1771	1,000		
<b>Total</b>	17,880	0.0005	<b>8.94</b>
<b>Butter (lbs.)</b>			
1768	1,175		
1769	1,420		
1770	2,145		
1771	2,010		
1772	10,690		
<b>Total</b>	17,440	0.02	<b>348.80</b>
<b>Candles - Spermaceti (lbs)</b>			
1769	450		
1770	526		
1771	900		
<b>Total</b>	1,876	.062/lbs	<b>116.31</b>
<b>Candles - Tallow (lbs)</b>			
1769	180		
1769	2,400		
<b>Total</b>	2,580	0.02	<b>51.60</b>
<b>Carriages - chaises</b>	2		
<b>Carriages - chairs</b>	3		
<b>Cattle</b>			
1769	44		
1770	148		

**Table 3-13 (continued)**

1771	10		
1772	4		
<b>Total</b>	206	4.5L	<b>927.00</b>
<b>Cedar (ft)</b>	1000 ft		
<b>Cheese (lbs)</b>			
1768	54,624		
1769	30,807		
1770	8,192		
1771	144,970		
1772	124,524		
<b>Total</b>	363,117	0.016	<b>5,809.87</b>
<b>Chocolate (lbs)</b>			
1769	240		
1770	270		
1771	20		
1772	2,370		
<b>Total</b>	2,900	0.056	<b>162.40</b>
<b>Clapboards (n)</b>			
1769	2,600		
1771	3,800		
1772	2,000		
<b>Total</b>	8,400	0.00175	<b>14.70</b>
<b>Cocoa (lbs)</b>			
1769	560		
1770	4,124		
1771	10,700		
1772	3,783		
<b>Total</b>	19,167	0.0249	<b>477.25</b>
<b>Coffee (cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	7 cwt		

**Table 3-13 (continued)**

1770	4 cwt, 1 q, 20 lbs		
1771	10 cwt, 1 q, 4 lbs		
<b>Total</b>	21 cwt, 2 q, 24 lbs	1.97	<b>41.37</b>
<b>Cordage (cwt)</b>			
1769	5 cwt		
1771	3 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	8 cwt		
<b>Cotton (lbs)</b>			
1768	700		
1769	11,379		
1770	1,856		
1771	1,580		
1772	550		
<b>Total</b>	16,065	0.05	<b>803.25</b>
<b>Earthenware (various)</b>			
1770	1 crate, 24 pieces		
1771	2 crates, 1 hh, 422 pieces		
1772	2 crates, 10.5 hh, 94 doz pieces		
<b>Total</b>	5 crates, 11.5 hh, 1,574 pieces		
<b>Feathers (lbs)</b>			
1769	100		
1770	142		
1771	470		
1772	250		
<b>Total</b>	962		
<b>Fish - Dried (q)</b>			
1768	86		
1769	117.5		
1770	744		

**Table 3-13 (continued)**

1771	858		
1772	612		
<b>Total</b>	2,417.50	0.568	<b>1,373.14</b>
<b>Fish - Pickled (bbs)</b>			
1768	10		
1769	959		
1770	499.5		
1771	383		
1772	559		
<b>Total</b>	2,410.50	0.75	<b>1,807.87</b>
<b>Flax (lbs)</b>			
1768	2,100		
1769	9,479		
1770	11,048		
1771	16,213		
1772	25,272		
<b>Total</b>	64,112	0.031	<b>1,987.47</b>
<b>Flaxseed (lbs)</b>			
1768	25,213		
1769	17,177		
1770	14,277		
1771	15,300		
1772	18,930		
<b>Total</b>	90,897	0.112	<b>10,180.46</b>
<b>Furniture - Chairs</b>			
1768	10		
1769	28		
1771	12		
Total	50		
<b>Furniture - Desks</b>			
1770	2		

**Table 3-13 (continued)**

1772	5		
<b>Total</b>	7		
<b>Furniture - Drawer Cases</b>			
1768	1		
1770	1		
1771	1		
1772	2		
<b>Total</b>	5		
<b>Hams</b>			
1771	3		
1772	1		
<b>Total</b>	4		
<b>Hay (t)</b>			
1768	5 t, 10 cwt		
1769	21 t, 10 cwt		
1770	41 t, 15 cwt		
1771	24 t, 10 cwt		
1772	26 t, 9 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	117 t, 54 cwt	2.48/T	<b>296.85</b>
<b>Hoops (n)</b>			
1769	322,143		
1770	197,860		
1771	104,900		
1772	300,400		
<b>Total</b>	925,303	0.00225	<b>2,081.93</b>
<b>Hoops Tress (sets)</b>	554		
<b>Hops (lbs)</b>			
1769	1,000		
1770	100		
1771	100		

**Table 3-13 (continued)**

1772	100		
<b>Total</b>	1,300		
<b>Horns (n)</b>			
1769	1,228		
1770	1,564		
<b>Total</b>	2,792		
<b>Horses (n)</b>			
1768	23		
1769	75		
1770	10		
1771	7		
<b>Total</b>	115	14.25L/each	<b>1,638.75</b>
<b>Indian Corn (bus)</b>			
1768	4,844		
1769	16,752		
1770	30,613		
1771	17,266		
1772	7,506		
<b>Total</b>	76,981	0.0749	<b>5765.87</b>
<b>Indigo (lbs)</b>			
1769	158		
1770	20		
1771	49		
<b>Total</b>	227	0.225	<b>51.07</b>
<b>Iron - Bar (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	8 t, 11 cwt		
1769	21 t, 10 cwt		
1771	2 t, 5 cwt		
1772	25 t, 4 cwt, 1 q		
<b>Total</b>	56 t, 30 cwt, 1 q	14.96/T	<b>860.20</b>



Table 3-13 (continued)

<b>Iron - Cast (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	2 t, 3 cwt, 2 q, 23 lbs		
1769	5 t, 8 cwt, 1 q, 14 lbs		
1770	1 cwt, 2 q		
1772	13 t, 18 cwt		
1771	3 t, 17 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	23 t, 47 cwt, 5 q, 37 lbs	16.5/T	<b>418.27</b>
<b>Lampblack (bbs)</b>	7		
<b>Leather (lbs)</b>			
1768	90		
1769	2,026		
1771	2,634		
1772	3,880		
<b>Total</b>	8,630		
<b>Lignum Vitae (cwt)</b>	10 cwt		
<b>Lime (bus)</b>	24		
<b>Limes (bbs)</b>			
1769	1		
1771	4.5		
<b>Total</b>	5.5		
<b>Limes and Oranges (bbs)</b>	22		
<b>Mahogany (ft)</b>	18 ft		
<b>Malt &amp; Meal (bus)</b>			
1768	139		
1769	708		
1770	861		
1771	369		
1772	86		

Table 3-13 (continued)

<b>Total</b>	2,163	0.1	<b>216.30</b>
<b>Molasses (g)</b>			
1768	18,536		
1769	131,667		
1770	150,842		
1771	128,072		
1772	168,329		
<b>Total</b>	597,446	0.049	<b>29,274.85</b>
<b>Myrtlewax (lbs)</b>			
1770	1,219		
1771	1,250		
1772	500		
<b>Total</b>	2,969		
<b>Oak Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1769	18,500		
1770	35,300		
1771	7,800		
1772	35,420		
<b>Total</b>	97,020	0.0013	<b>126.12</b>
<b>Oars</b>			
1768	7,000		
1769	18,820		
1770	24,500		
1771	9,075		
1772	26,400		
<b>Total</b>	85,795	0.00625	<b>536.21</b>
<b>Oats (bbs)</b>			
1768	1,671		
1769	4,119		
1770	4,541		
1771	1,252		

Table 3-13 (continued)

<b>Total</b>	11,583	0.05	<b>579.15</b>
<b>Oil - Blubber (bbs)</b>			
1771	8		
1772	27		
<b>Total</b>	35	15/T	<b>525.00</b>
<b>Oil - Fish</b>			
1768	60 t		
1769	63 t, 67 g		
1770	52 t, 111g		
1771	13 t, 93 g		
1772	43 t, 93 g		
<b>Total</b>	231 t, 424 g	.059/g	<b>30,553.97</b>
<b>Oil - Linseed</b>			
1769	18 t, 219 g		
1770	11 t, 198 g		
1771	2 t, 136 g		
1772	120 g		
<b>Total</b>	31 t, 673 g	2.9/t	<b>89.90</b>
<b>Onions - bushels</b>			
1768	100		
1769	148		
1770	15		
1771	70		
<b>Total</b>	333	0.004	<b>1.33</b>
<b>Onions - ropes</b>			
1768	40,089		
1769	430,782		
1770	365,164		
1771	190,056		
1772	143,398		
<b>Total</b>	1,169,489	0.004	<b>4,677.95</b>

Table 3-13 (continued)

<b>Pails (doz)</b>	10.5		
<b>Paper (reams)</b>			
1769	28		
1770	110		
1771	190		
1772	906		
<b>Total</b>	1,234		
<b>Peas (bus)</b>			
1768	237		
1769	1,378		
1770	2,947		
1771	1,423		
1772	2,106		
<b>Total</b>	8,091	<b>0.2</b>	<b>1,618.20</b>
<b>Pimento (lbs)</b>			
1768	1,510		
1770	810		
1771	139		
<b>Total</b>	2,459	<b>0.024</b>	<b>59.01</b>
<b>Pine Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1769	37,897		
1770	35,150		
1771	21,785		
1772	77,400		
<b>Total</b>	172,232	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>223.90</b>
<b>Pork &amp; Beef (t, cwt, q, bbs)</b>			
1768	319 bbs		
1769	580 t, 4 q		

**Table 3-13 (continued)**

1770	601 t, 5 cwt		
1771	5392 bbs		
1772	5654 bbs		
<b>Total</b>	23,365 (bbs)	<b>2.12/BBS</b>	<b>49,533.80</b>
<b>Potatoes (bus)</b>			
1768	50		
1769	1,864		
1770	1,401		
1771	349		
1772	397		
<b>Total</b>	4,061	<b>0.0375</b>	<b>152.28</b>
<b>Poultry (doz)</b>			
1769	87		
1770	15		
1772	24		
<b>Total</b>	126	<b>0.45</b>	<b>56.70</b>
<b>Rice (bbs)</b>			
1769	113		
1770	8		
1771	35		
1772	4		
<b>Total</b>	160	<b>2.25</b>	<b>360.00</b>
<b>Rum - New England (g)</b>			
1768	5,834		
1769	241,840		
1770	7,557		
1771	20,605		
1772	4,020		
<b>Total</b>	279,856	<b>0.062</b>	<b>17,351.07</b>
<b>Rum – West Indian</b>			

**Table 3-13 (continued)**

1768	5,834		
1769	103,768		
1770	83,081		
1771	27,720		
1772	147,090		
<b>Total</b>	367,493	<b>0.1</b>	<b>36,749.30</b>
<b>Rye (bus)</b>			
1769	9,014		
1770	15,687		
1771	9,256		
1772	4,775		
<b>Total</b>	38,732	<b>0.05</b>	<b>1,936.60</b>
<b>Salt (bus)</b>			
1768	2,796		
1769	3,029		
1770	6,665		
1771	4,330		
1772	7,396		
<b>Total</b>	24,216	<b>0.051</b>	<b>1,235.01</b>
<b>Sarsparilla (lbs)</b>	16,200		
<b>Sheep (n)</b>			
1769	603		
1770	215		
1771	10		
1772	171		
<b>Total</b>	999	<b>0.35</b>	<b>349.65</b>
<b>Shingles (n)</b>			
1769	9,000		
1770	40,000		
1772	15,000		
<b>Total</b>	64,000	<b>0.000397</b>	<b>25.40</b>

Table 3-13 (continued)

<b>Shoes (pairs)</b>			
1769	725		
1770	825		
1771	984		
1772	767		
<b>Total</b>	3,301	<b>0.125</b>	<b>412.62</b>
<b>Shook Hogsheads</b>			
1769	210		
1770	247		
1771	609		
1772	338		
<b>Total</b>	1,404	<b>0.125</b>	<b>175.50</b>
<b>Scythes (doz)</b>			
1769	16.3		
1770	13		
1771	7		
1772	77		
<b>Total</b>	113.3		
<b>Snuff (lbs)</b>	7		
<b>Soap - Hard (lbs)</b>	300	<b>0.025</b>	<b>7.50</b>
<b>Soap - Soft (bbs)</b>	17	<b>0.025</b>	<b>0.42</b>
<b>Spinning Wheels (n)</b>	29		
<b>Staves (n)</b>			
1768	3,300		
1769	169,220		
1770	122,100		
1771	64,000		

Table 3-13 (continued)

1772	176,100		
<b>Total</b>	534,720	<b>0.00299</b>	<b>1,598.81</b>
<b>Stones - Grind (n)</b>	10		
<b>Sugar - Brown (cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	104 cwt		
1769	1157 cwt, 1 q, 27 lbs		
1770	1252 cwt, 3 q, 16 lbs		
1771	733 cwt		
1772	1766 cwt, 2 q, 10 lbs		
<b>Total</b>	5,012 cwt, 6 q, 53 lbs	<b>1.578</b>	<b>7,908.93</b>
<b>Sugar - Loaf (lbs)</b>			
1769	6,314		
1771	1,995		
1772	150		
<b>Total</b>	8,459	<b>0.031</b>	<b>262.22</b>
<b>Tallow &amp; Lard (lbs)</b>			
1768	800		
1769	51,359		
1770	32,104		
1771	25,332		
1772	31,978		
<b>Total</b>	141,573	<b>0.02</b>	<b>2,831.46</b>
<b>Tar (bbs)</b>	93	<b>0.3</b>	<b>27.90</b>
<b>Timber - Oak (t)</b>	21 t, 24 ft	<b>.9/T</b>	<b>18.90</b>
<b>Timber - Pine (t, ft)</b>	40 t	<b>.4/T</b>	<b>16.00</b>
<b>Timber - Walnut Boards (ft)</b>	2,000		



Table 3-13 (continued)

<b>Tobacco (lbs)</b>			
1768			
1769	15,448		
1770	2,740		
1771	2,071		
1772	1,406		
<b>Total</b>	21,665	<b>0.019</b>	<b>411.63</b>
<b>Tons - Cloth (yds)</b>			
1768	1,530		
1769	842		
1771	640		
1772	2,690		
<b>Total</b>	5,702	<b>2s/yd</b>	<b>428.72</b>
<b>Turpentine (bbs)</b>	11	<b>0.4</b>	<b>4.40</b>
<b>Whalebone (lbs)</b>			
1770	900		
1771	4,900		
<b>Total</b>	5,800		
<b>Whalefins (lbs)</b>	114	<b>0.169</b>	<b>19.26</b>
<b>Wheat (bus)</b>			
1768	6,781		
1769	20,990		
1770	30,251		
1771	7,758		
1772	5,254		
<b>Total</b>	71,034	<b>0.175</b>	<b>12,430.95</b>
<b>Wine of the Azores (t, g)</b>			
1769	7 t, 40 g		
1770	2 t, 160 g		

**Table 3-13 (continued)**

1771	1 t, 67 g		
1772	1 t, 35 g		
<b>Total</b>	11 t, 302 g	<b>54/T</b>	<b>594.00</b>
<b>Wood - Blocks (ft)</b>	1,000		
<b>Wood - Firewood - (cords)</b>			
1770	117		
1771	152		
1772	156		
<b>Total</b>	425		
<b>Total - All Commodities</b>			<b>273,193.54</b>

**Note:** These are my calculations based on the listings in Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 3-14 Value of Re-Exported West Indian Commodities  
in the New London Coastal Trade: 1768 – 1772**

<b>West Indian Commodity</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>	<b>% of Total Value</b>
Chocolate (lbs)	<b>162.40</b>	
Cocoa (lbs)	<b>477.25</b>	
Coffee (cwt, q, lbs)	<b>41.37</b>	
Cotton (lbs)	<b>803.25</b>	
Indigo (lbs)	<b>51.07</b>	
Mahogany (ft)	<b>0.00</b>	
Molasses (g)	<b>29,274.85</b>	
Pimento (lbs)	<b>59.01</b>	
Rum - New England (g)	<b>17,351.07</b>	
Rum - West Indian (g)	<b>36,749.30</b>	
Salt (bus)	<b>1,235.01</b>	
Sugar - Brown (cwt, q, lbs)	<b>7,908.93</b>	
Sugar - Loaf (lbs)	<b>262.22</b>	
<b>Total - All West Indian Products</b>	<b>94,375.73</b>	<b>34.5%</b>
<b>Total All Commodities</b>	<b>273,193.54</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Note:** Data taken from Table 3.14.

**Table 3-15 Cattle Exported from British North America to the West Indies: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Colony</b>	<b>Number of Cattle Exported</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Nova Scotia	27	>1
New Hampshire	1,704	9.9
Massachusetts	1,037	6
Rhode Island	873	5
Connecticut	12,674	73.7
New York	360	2
Pennsylvania	46	>1
North Carolina	192	1.1
South Carolina	67	>1
Georgia	213	1.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>17,193</b>	<b>98.9</b>

**Note:** Figures do not add up to 100% due to rounding. These are my calculations based on the listings in Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 3-16 Horses Exported from British North America to the West Indies: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Colony</b>	<b>Number of Horses Exported</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Newfoundland	45	>1
Quebec	24	>1
Nova Scotia	117	>1
New Hampshire	1,034	3.5
Massachusetts	910	3.1
Rhode Island	3,290	11.2
Connecticut	21,709	74.1
New York	909	3.1
Pennsylvania	102	>1
Maryland	8	>1
Virginia	15	>1
North Carolina	230	>1
South Carolina	722	2.4
Georgia	1,309	4.4
Florida	67	>1
Bermuda	18	>1
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>29,289</b>	<b>100</b>

**Note:** These are my calculations based on the listings in Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 3-17 Sheep Exported from British North America to the West Indies: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Colony</b>	<b>Number of Sheep Exported</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Quebec	50	>1
New Jersey	1,799	3.1
New Hampshire	2,994	5.1
Massachusetts	3,065	5.2
Rhode Island	10,475	18
Pennsylvania	12,446	21.5
Connecticut	27,003	46.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>57,832</b>	<b>99.5</b>

**Note:** These are my calculations based on the listings in Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 3-18 Value of New Haven Exports to All Areas: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Export Area</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
Coastal	149,445	49.3%
Great Britain & Ireland	1,491	>1%
Southern Europe & Wine Islands	0	0.0%
Africa	0	0.0%
West Indies	151,824	50.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>302,760</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Export Area</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
Coastal - Without West Indian Products	105,022	34.6%
Coastal - West Indian Products	44,423	14.6%
Great Britain & Ireland	1,491	>1%
Southern Europe & Wine Islands	0	0.0%
Africa	0	0.0%
West Indies	151,824	50.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>302,760</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Note:** The data above are based on the research in the chapter. The data for Great Britain and Ireland is also based on my calculations.

**Table 3-19 Value of New London Exports to All Areas: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Export Area</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
Coastal	273,193	42.2%
Great Britain & Ireland	14,563	2.2%
Southern Europe & Wine Islands	7,495	1.1%
Africa	0	0.0%
West Indies	351,287	54.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>646,538</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Export Area</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
Coastal - Without West Indian Products	178,817	27.6%
Coastal - West Indian Products	94,376	14.5%
Great Britain & Ireland	14,563	2.2%
Southern Europe & Wine Islands	7,495	1.1%
Africa	0	0.0%
West Indies	351,287	54.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>646,538</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Note:** The data above for the Coastal Trade and West Indies are based on the research in the chapter. The rest are figures taken from James F. Shepherd, *Commodity Exports from the British North American Colonies to Overseas Areas, 1768-1772: Magnitudes and Patterns of Trade*, Paper No. 258 – October, 1969, Institute for Research in the Behavioral, Economic and Management Sciences (Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University, 1969).



**Table 3-20 Value of All Connecticut Exports to All Areas: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Export Area</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
Coastal	422,638	44.5%
Great Britain & Ireland	16,054	1.6%
Southern Europe & Wine Islands	7,495	>1%
Africa	0	0%
West Indies	503,111	53%
<b>Total</b>	<b>949,298</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Export Area</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
Coastal - Without West Indian Products	283,839	29.8%
Coastal - West Indian Products	138,799	14.6%
Great Britain & Ireland	16,054	1.6%
Southern Europe & Wine Islands	7,495	>1%
Africa	0	0%
West Indies	503,111	53%
<b>Total</b>	<b>949,298</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Note:** Based on data from Tables 3.18 and 3.19.

#### 4.0 “FINE FORESTS”: THE FORESTS OF MAINE, FALMOUTH, AND THE WEST INDIES

Writing to the Duke of Newcastle in 1730, Colonel David Dunbar noted that “Maine belongs to the Massachusetts Government and has many forests of fine masts.” He thereby captured what has remained the basic storyline of colonial Maine: political domination by Massachusetts and the export of masts to England.<sup>1</sup> Yet there was much more to the story than Dunbar revealed to the Duke, one which led from the “fine forests” of the farthest territory of New England – Maine – to the heart of the plantation complex in the West Indies, over two thousand miles away. This chapter will explore the contours of this trade, previously unknown and unexamined, and complicate the standard narrative of colonial Maine – which is often subsumed and hidden within the larger category of “Massachusetts.”

Dunbar was of course correct that throughout the colonial era the province of Maine was technically part of Massachusetts. What he could not have known was how this fact would subsequently shape historical investigations, which have often ignored Maine. Yet before turning to Falmouth specifically in this chapter we must situate that port town within the larger context of settlement and growth within Maine overall. During the colonial era there were three areas of

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel David Dunbar to the Duke of New Castle, February 2, 1730, in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1574-1739 CD-ROM*, consultant editors Karen Ordahl Kupperman, John C. Appleby and Mandy Banton, (London: Routledge, published in association with the Public Record Office, copyright 2000). Hereafter abbreviated as *CSPCD*.

settlement (Table 4.1). The first, and largest in terms of population, were the towns in York County, which were all located very close, if not actually on, the Piscataqua River. This waterway served as the official boundary with New Hampshire, and these towns are best understood as part of the economic dynamics of that colony, further explored in chapter six. The second area is the subject of this chapter, Falmouth – located in Cumberland County, and the surrounding towns (Table 4.1). The last area consisted of those “frontier” towns in upper Maine – all found within Lincoln County (Table 4.1). This last group consisted of still fledgling Atlantic settlements by the end of the colonial era, economically linked to Falmouth supplying some masts, but little else.

Yet, this chapter will present data that substantially challenges what I will call the “mast-trade” only interpretation and posit that while this element is only one part of the story; it omits the other largest one: trade with the slave labor regimes of the West Indies.

The reason for the prevailing interpretation is that the historical patterns present in Falmouth were somewhat unique in one very crucial dimension: unlike the rest of New England, successful Indian resistance kept settlements in the region small and scattered until the 1760s. To properly understand how and why Falmouth’s export trade developed, especially when it expanded to include trade with the West Indies, requires analyzing the achievements of Native American nations for nearly a century and a half in thwarting the designs of English settlers.

However, the cumulative impacts of nearly unceasing imperial warfare decimated local Indian populations as they fought to preserve the land eyed by men like Dunbar. Their defeat allowed more colonists to arrive and settle in Falmouth and the surrounding areas. This led to rapid period of expansion between 1763 and 1775, which coincided with an economic expansion in the West Indies. Colonists in Falmouth and the surrounding towns constructed a series of mills

built along regional river systems that transformed Dunbar's "many forests," into various wood products for export to the West Indies. Without the easy access to Indian lands, acquiring this timber wealth had been arduous, slow and perilous.

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Previous examinations of Maine often overlook the role of trade, especially exports, and economic development, in Maine's largest and most important port; Falmouth, located where the Presumpscot River empties into the Atlantic.<sup>2</sup> To date, there has never been a scholarly analysis of Falmouth's exports using the existing customs records.<sup>3</sup> Created as a separate customs region in 1757, the few existing interpretations regarding the role of trade in Falmouth's development have stressed the importance of the mast trade and discussed the export of tall trees fit for Her Majesty's Navy back in England.

The historiography regarding Maine has been framed by the colony's position as a province of Massachusetts. Thus, as one recent synthesis concluded; "North of Massachusetts the countryside thinned out, as does the historical literature."<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, despite the fact that all colonial Maine settlements were situated on the Atlantic coast, the new "Atlantic History" has done nothing to alter that trend.<sup>5</sup> This tendency was established early in the historical literature,

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<sup>2</sup> The town was renamed Portland in 1786.

<sup>3</sup> James Shepherd combined all three customs ports in Massachusetts: Falmouth, Salem and Marblehead, and Boston, together and removed the possibility for either comparing the ports or understanding the trading patterns of each one separately. See James F. Shepherd, *Commodity Exports from the British North American Colonies to Overseas Areas, 1768-1772: Magnitudes and Patterns of Trade, Paper No. 258 – October, 1969, Institute for Research in the Behavioral, Economic and Management Sciences* (Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University, 1969), 12-13, 25, 31-32, 42-43.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel Vickers, "The Northern Colonies: Economy and Society, 1600-1775" in *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States, Volume I, The Colonial Era*, eds. Stanley L. Engerman and Robert Gallman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 427. Vicker's review essay ignores Maine completely, and his bibliographic essay mentions just one work dealing with Maine, by Charles Clark, which is discussed below.

<sup>5</sup> Some of the more recent published examples excluding Maine include: Margaret Newell, "Economy" in Daniel Vickers, ed. *A Companion to Colonial America* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 172-193; Stephen Hornsby *British Atlantic, American Frontier* (Lebanon, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2005), 73-88, 126-148; Marc Egnal, *New World Economies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 46-77;

including works written specifically about Maine. The first “official” history of Maine, written by James Sullivan and published in 1795, completely ignores any discussion of trade in relation to the development of the province.<sup>6</sup> A more focused town study, William Willis’ *The History of Portland*, published in 1865 and referred to by one noted historian as a work of “careful and exhaustive scholarship,”<sup>7</sup> included only a brief passage regarding the West Indian trade, which vastly underestimated the magnitude and importance of the slave labor plantations in the story of Falmouth.<sup>8</sup> Instead, Willis set the standard for reducing Falmouth’s exports to a narrow discussion of the mast trade. William Goold followed Willis eleven years later with *Portland in the Past*, which contained one sentence about the trade: “Falmouth was engaged in a profitable trade with Great Britain and the West India islands.”<sup>9</sup> He provided no further details. William B. Weeden’s 1891 classic *The Economic and Social History of New England*, barely mentioned exports from Maine, without providing any specific quantities, and limited his brief comments to the mast trade by relying on Willis.<sup>10</sup>

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John J. McCusker and Russel R. Menard, *The Economy of British North America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 91-111; T.H. Breen and Timothy Hall, *Colonial America in an Atlantic World* (New York: Pearson, 2004). Older “classic” works also ignored Maine: Richard Pares, *Yankees and Creoles* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1956); J.F. Shepherd and G.M. Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972), subsumes Maine within Massachusetts without explanation. This is the standard found in three key works on trade: Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the Atlantic Economies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), 264-287, Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675-1740* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), mentions Maine on pages 18, 20, 57, 180-181 but offers no specifics.

<sup>6</sup> James Sullivan, *The History of the District of Maine* (Boston: I. Thomas and E.T. Andrews: 1795).

<sup>7</sup> Charles E. Clark, *The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England 1610-1763* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 410.

<sup>8</sup> William Willis, *The History of Portland, From 1632 to 1864: With a Notice of Previous Settlements, Colonial Grants, and changes of Government in Maine* (Portland: Bailey & Noyes: 1865), 456. The passage states that “a few vessels of a smaller class were employed in the West India business,” when, in fact, as is detailed later, half of all the vessels clearing Falmouth went to the West Indies. Willis must have known this somehow, or suspected it, since he added that “this had grown up a few years previous to the revolution to become an object of considerable importance,” though he provided no details on how many ships, tonnage, cargoes or values on this branch of trade.

<sup>9</sup> William Goold, *Portland in the Past* (Portland: B. Thurston and Company, 1886), 832.

<sup>10</sup> William B. Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England*, Volume II (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1891), 578-579, 589-590, 651.

More recent work has minimally improved the situation. Charles Clark's *The Eastern Frontier* contains an excellent overview of Falmouth's development in the context of a wider analysis concerning the evolution of colonial settlements in Northern New England. Yet he mentions the Falmouth-West Indian connection in a single sentence, commenting broadly on its existence, but providing no analysis or details.<sup>11</sup> A recent synthetic history of Maine completely omits any discussion of trade in the colonial era beyond a few generalizations about the mast trade.<sup>12</sup> The most recent evaluation of Falmouth's colonial economic history, specifically focused on the 1763-1775 era, completely overlooked customs records, ignored the West Indies, and only mentioned mast exports to Great Britain.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the economic linkages between Maine and the West Indies have remained unexamined leaving the impression that exports consisted of only one item – masts – headed to only one place – England.

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Strong opposition by various Indian nations made English colonization efforts in Falmouth slow and arduous, thereby severely limited trading opportunities for the encroaching settlers. Throughout the seventeenth century a few scattered families who attempted to settle were forced to leave the area in the wake of Indian resistance, and no permanent settlements were established in Falmouth until 1715.<sup>14</sup> That year a single family took residence and by 1725

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<sup>11</sup> Clark, *The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England 1610-1763*, 155. Clark's helpful historiographic review: "Essay on Authorities and Sources," (405-419) does not mention any works dealing with trade except those involving the "mast trade," which, although important, were not the major export items to the West Indies.

<sup>12</sup> *Maine: The Pine Tree State from Prehistory to the Present*, eds. Richard W. Judd, et.al (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1995).

<sup>13</sup> Charles P.M. Outwin, "Thriving and Elegant Town: Eighteenth-Century Portland as Commercial Center," in *Creating Portland: History and Place in Northern New England*, ed. Joseph A. Conforti (Lebanon: University of New Hampshire Press, 2005), 20-43.

<sup>14</sup> Emerson W. Baker, "Formerly Machegonne, Dartmouth, York, Stogummor, Casco, and Falmouth: Portland as a Contested Frontier in the Seventeenth Century," in *Creating Portland: History and Place in Northern New England*, ed. Joseph A. Conforti (Lebanon: University of New Hampshire Press, 2005), 1-19.

had been joined by another forty-five or so. This was too much for the local Indian nations, who wanted to stop any further illegal encroachments. At the end of July in 1722, the Penobscot Indians and their allies from the “Arresegunteccok, Nerridgewock, and Wowenock” nations successfully waged war against the settlements across Maine, particularly Falmouth, forcing William Dummer, Governor of Massachusetts, to sign a peace treaty on December 15, 1725.<sup>15</sup>

Though Falmouth and other area residents attempted to restore their previous daily routines, the war, and general Indian resistance, the Reverend Thomas Smith of Falmouth succinctly noted the results: they “kept back the growth of the settlement.”<sup>16</sup> Penobscot Indian leader Panaouamskeyen, also known as Loron Sauguaarum, warned Governor Dummer that no new settlement would be tolerated, that while he would “permit the Englishman to keep a store at St. Georges, but a store only.” He added the English were “not to build any other house, nor erect a fort there, and I did not give him the land.”<sup>17</sup> Peace was only temporary however, and Falmouth continued to be a major site of English-Indian interactions and tensions. On July 13, 1732, Governor Jonathan Belcher arrived in a “man-o-war” ship from Boston, followed on July 20<sup>th</sup> by a sloop “with the Councilors, Representatives, and other gentlemen” from the capital for a major conference with more than two hundred Indians, including one hundred from the Penobscot nation. It was an attempt to stop smoldering tensions from exploding into open warfare once more.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> *Boston Gazette*, August 7, 1727. For an Indian account of an earlier Treaty signed in 1727, see Loron Sauguaarum, “An Account of Negotiations Leading to the Casco Bay Treaty, 1727,” as compared with the “official” treaty reprinted in *The World Turned Upside Down, Indian Voices from Early America*, ed. Colin Calloway (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 1994), 92-94 and 186-189.

<sup>16</sup> Journal entry of the Reverend Thomas Smith, in *Journals of the Reverend Thomas Smith and the Reverend Thomas Deane Pastors of the First Church in Portland* (Portland: Joseph S. Bailey, 1849), 59. Hereafter, entries will be referred to as either Smith, *Journals*, or Deane, *Journals*, depending on the speaker.

<sup>17</sup> Loron Sauguaarum, “An Account of Negotiations,” in *The World Turned Upside Down*, ed. Colin Calloway, 92-94. St. George’s referred to an area near Penobscot Bay. See Clark, *The Eastern Frontier*, 262.

<sup>18</sup> Smith, *Journals*, 75-77.

Peace lasted only a short while and Indian attempts to expel the Falmouth colonists permanently nearly succeeded during the context of another imperial war: King George's War (1744-1748). Accusing the Penobscot and Kennebec Indian nations of unprovoked attacks, which they denied, officials in Massachusetts declared war.<sup>19</sup> Falmouth residents, however, were hardly confident. Just two years formally into the war, Falmouth's Reverend Thomas Smith chronicled, "our people seem more awakened and alarmed on account of the Indians than they have ever been."<sup>20</sup> Other inhabitants described the situation in stark terms: "our people are universally in distress, some are instantly hurrying away, and the settlement most unavoidably [will be] in a great measure break up" if officials in Boston failed to send military assistance.<sup>21</sup> Fear of death limited trade and other economic activities, whether for home use or export abroad, as "men...dare not venture into their fields."<sup>22</sup> As a result, "most of the families to the Eastward of Casco Bay, having done little or nothing in the two summers past for their support, fearing to go abroad for work, and their winter work turning to no account," were in a desperate condition.<sup>23</sup> Peace came a full year after the formal ending of King George's War in 1748, as the Treaty of Falmouth was signed in October, 1749.<sup>24</sup> The uneasy peace was short-lived however, and tensions continued to simmer before boiling over into a formal war in 1755, becoming part of the last major imperial war of the colonial era; the Seven Years War. This time, however, much of the local Indian population withdrew to the far northern sections of Maine, to

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<sup>19</sup> David L. Ghere, "Diplomacy and War on the Maine Frontier," in *Maine: The Pine Tree State from Prehistory to the Present*, eds. Richard W. Judd, et.al (University of Maine Press: Orono, 1995), 136. As Ghere reminds us, viewed from the Indian perspective, this conflict was actually the fifth "Anglo-Wabanaki" war.

<sup>20</sup> Smith, *Journals*, 81.

<sup>21</sup> *Boston Gazette*, April 26, 1746.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ghere, "Diplomacy and War on the Maine Frontier," 136.



try and avoid the human costs of war for their people.<sup>25</sup> By the end of the war in 1763 local Indian resistance in the Falmouth area had all but disappeared.

Throughout the era of Indian resistance in the eighteenth century the population of Falmouth grew slowly. Colonists searched for a means of economic development, and like their counterparts in New Hampshire, they found it in the forest. Colonists eagerly sought to transform Maine's tall trees into masts for export to England, where the ever-expanding Royal Navy needed steady supplies for the imperial war machine.<sup>26</sup> Locals provided masts, strategically vital to ships. Approximately a year after the ending of the Indian war in 1725, a "mast ship" loaded in Falmouth sailed out on August 9, 1726.<sup>27</sup> Though the "mast trade" began in neighboring New Hampshire in the seventeenth century, by 1727, according to one account, "the Mast Business" had "removed further Eastward" to Falmouth.<sup>28</sup> That summer, Captain Farles, in "one of the Mast-Ships," was reportedly "lying in Casco-Bay."<sup>29</sup> Farles was "pleased with the peculiar commodiousness of that fine harbor to carry on said business."<sup>30</sup> The viewpoint of one observer from Boston was that the harbor's size, in connection with the supply of available masts, "must very much tend to encourage the settlements of those parts of the country, especially the flourishing Bay, that will be the center of it."<sup>31</sup>

While the view from Boston suggested that growth would come easily in Falmouth, the reality on the ground was far different. In 1725 the town had only between "forty-five and fifty-

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 138-139.

<sup>26</sup> I discuss the Navy's circumstances briefly on page three of the New Hampshire chapter, but see Robert Albion, *Forests and Sea Power, the Timber Problem of the Royal Navy: 1652-1862* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1926), 95-230, for details.

<sup>27</sup> Smith, *Journals*, 52.

<sup>28</sup> *New England Weekly Journal*, June 17, 1727.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. Willis, in his history, incorrectly dated the newspaper account May 8, 1727.

<sup>30</sup> *New England Weekly Journal*, June 17, 1727.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

six families, most of them poor.”<sup>32</sup> After peace was “concluded” with the Indians in 1726, settlers returned to the town that summer, re-establishing their farms, wharves, and other structures.<sup>33</sup> Those initially trying to re-build the town were few in number. By the end of 1726 Reverend Smith estimated there were perhaps “sixty-four families, such as they were, accounting for a man and his wife, a family. There were likewise thirteen or fourteen young men marriageable, that have land in the town, and are inhabitants; and above thirty-eight fighting men.”<sup>34</sup> Indian resistance had proven much stronger than boosters from Boston had perceived or local settlers anticipated, and was undoubtedly the main reason for the lack of growth in the region. There were, however, other issues which also gave pause to even the most adventuresome colonist.

Prospective settlers faced another daunting challenge, in Falmouth, and across the province of Maine generally; the harsh weather. During the winter of 1728, one observed noted, “a great many creatures have died this winter by reason of the deep snow.”<sup>35</sup> Compounding this was a lack of food supplies, especially hay, for the livestock. As a result, “the scarcity of hay” directly led to the deaths of many animals necessary for the colonists’ survival.<sup>36</sup> During the winter of 1757, one storm dumped “deep drifts” of snow, which occurred frequently every year.<sup>37</sup> Freezing temperatures accompanied the snow on a frigid day in mid-February, 1772, and Casco Bay completely froze.<sup>38</sup> However, summers might also prove vexing, as forest fires threatened homes, farms and lives. In July, 1762, around Falmouth “the woods are all a fire”

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<sup>32</sup> I am combining two separate entries that Smith wrote concerning the number of families in Falmouth at this time. See Smith, *Journals*, pages 49, 59-60.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 50.

<sup>34</sup> Estimate of Reverend Smith, in his *Journals*, 51.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 67.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 67.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 179. Almost every winter season Reverend Smith commented on the deep snow that had fallen in Falmouth and the surrounding areas.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 331.

which led to considerable damage; “six houses, two saw mills, several barns and cattle were burnt at Dunston, Six families burnt out at North Yarmouth, and a vast deal of damage done in fences burnt, and fields and pasture laid open.”<sup>39</sup> Beyond the risk of injury, forest fires consumed the most important item colonists might acquire to trade: trees.

The tall pines found in the province, especially those found alongside rivers like the Presumpscot River, which emptied into Falmouth’s harbor, made inviting targets for those eager to transform these natural wonders into saleable commodities. These took myriad forms, from masts for the shipwrights back in England building the Royal Navy to pine boards and plank to support the physical infrastructure of the West Indian slave economy, to satisfying customers closer to home in Boston, where wood was in constant demand. Though customs records failed to record intra-colonial, or even intra-New England trade, other sources reveal that Falmouth coasters were busy trucking wood to Boston or Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and bringing back food.<sup>40</sup> In the 1740s, at a peak era of Indian resistance, Boston coasters refused to land in Falmouth for fear of being attacked.<sup>41</sup> The results were “that some thousands of cords of wood lays now rotting on the ground,”<sup>42</sup> and locals struggled to produce enough food.

The demand for masts did not translate into economic success for the vast majority of townspeople, most of whom were unable to grow enough food to support themselves throughout the colonial era. As one local observed in January, 1735, “there is little corn, and complaints everywhere.”<sup>43</sup> By early March the small locally grown corn crop failed to meet the basic needs of the settlers, causing one to remark, “it is a melancholy time in regard to the scarcity of corn;

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 192.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 81; *New Hampshire Gazette*, March 7, 1766

<sup>41</sup> *Boston Gazette*, April 26, 1746.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Smith, *Journals*, 85.

some have had none for weeks.”<sup>44</sup> By April 21, the situation had grown even worse as more basic food stuffs and supplies ran out; “all the talk is, - no corn, no hay, and there is not one peck of potatoes to eat in all the eastern country.”<sup>45</sup> Finally, on May 3, Mr. Goodwin arrived in a boat with three hundred bushels of corn, leading to “great rejoicing in town.”<sup>46</sup> Still, Falmouth’s residents continued to need to import food from elsewhere. Customs records reveal that between 1768 and 1772 the people of Falmouth were obtaining bran, butter, corn, oats, onions, peas, pork, beef, and rye through the coastal trade to supplement inadequate local food production (Table 4.4). One of the largest imported food items was corn: 142,326 bushels between 1768 and 1772.

Like other port towns: Newport, New Haven, and New London, Falmouth was the endpoint of a major river system and watershed area. In this case, the Presumpscot River watershed, 648 miles in all and “the largest freshwater input to Casco Bay, begins over twenty five miles inland from the Atlantic, starting at Sebago Lake and cascading down before reaching the Atlantic and the site of Falmouth.”<sup>47</sup> The river empties into a magnificent harbor, which inspired more than few observers with its potential.

Falmouth’s harbor was quite “commodious” and large enough to accommodate a variety of vessels. A storm in early September 1726 forced “about forty large fishing vessels” into the harbor.<sup>48</sup> Almost exactly a year later, “about thirty vessels” lay anchor “for several days” though whether they did so to avoid another storm remains unknown.<sup>49</sup> By 1732, fewer ships seemed to take advantage of the harbor around the same time of year. On September 24, Smith noted how

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 86.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 86.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 87.

<sup>47</sup> Presumpscot River Facts, Friends of the Presumpscot River, <http://www.presumpscotriver.org/Text/RiverFacts.html>.

<sup>48</sup> Smith, *Journals*, 48.

<sup>49</sup> Reverend Smith did not record a storm as the reason in 1727 but perhaps ship captains, remembering the storm a year earlier, took proactive steps. See Smith, *Journals*, 66.

“twelve coasting sloops, besides some schooners” were in the harbor.<sup>50</sup> Some of the largest vessels produced by shipwrights in London’s yards found their way into Casco Bay. The ship *Oxford*, for example, “burthen 640 tons” armed with “twenty-four guns, 20 swivels, and small-arms in proportion” made port in Falmouth en route to Jamaica, with “letters of marque against the French and Spaniards.” Other large “mast-ships” which transported the tall timber across the Atlantic for use in the Royal Navy anchored in the bay at least twice a year.<sup>51</sup> Other ships leaving the bay, however, were built locally.

The full extent of shipbuilding in Falmouth remains unknown but shipwrights were busy early in the town’s formative years. In 1730 one ship, “a good vessel of 52 foot keel, 20 foot beam, well-built and finished out of the stocks at Falmouth in Casco-Bay” was ready for purchase.<sup>52</sup> In 1753 a twenty-five ton schooner, the *Dolphin*, was built and sold to Benjamin Pickman, a wealthy and prominent Salem merchant who plied her on at least one occasion in the coastal trade between Salem and Virginia in the spring months of 1758.<sup>53</sup> Another vessel, the *Lucy*, a thirty ton schooner built in 1756 and owned by Thomas Sanders of Gloucester, had been named after a Falmouth resident: his wife, Lucy Smith, the daughter of the Reverend Thomas Smith.<sup>54</sup> Perhaps Sanders was pleased with his first Falmouth-built ship, the fifty ton schooner *Adventure*, which launched from a local shipyard in 1749. Occasionally ships were built in the greater Falmouth area. In Scarborough for example, located just south of Falmouth, shipwrights

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<sup>50</sup> Smith, *Journals*, 77.

<sup>51</sup> My estimate based on Smith’s Diary, which noted the mast ships in the fall and summer for several years.

<sup>52</sup> *Boston Gazette*, December 12, 1730.

<sup>53</sup> Massachusetts NOSL, CO 5/848, London, PRO, TNA, London, England for the ship listing. For details on Benjamin Pickman, see the biographical information within the “Pickman Silver” article in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, (Volume XXXIX), 97-120.

<sup>54</sup> Massachusetts NOSL, CO 5/848, London, PRO, TNA, London, England, for the ship listing. For Thomas Saunders and Lucy Smith, see Smith, *Journals*, 22-24.

built a sixty ton sloop in 1747. Named the *Greyhound*, she was eventually owned by Winthrop Sargent of Gloucester, “a seafaring man engaged in mercantile pursuits.”<sup>55</sup>

Assessing the changing fortunes of shipwrights working in port towns along Maine’s Atlantic shores proves difficult due to source limitations but they were certainly busy building ships. For example, from the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century ships were built in southern Maine port towns near the Piscataqua River, which served as the border between Maine and New Hampshire, in York and Kittery rather than Falmouth (Table 4.7). Shipbuilding began to shift as settlement in Falmouth increased. A large, 250-ton ship was built in 1744-1745, likely a mast ship, but not until the 1750s did a steady shipbuilding industry emerge in Falmouth. By 1753, neighboring port records in New Hampshire indicate that fifty nine ships built in Maine totaling 2,845 tons entered and cleared Portsmouth’s harbor. Of these, thirty-two vessels hailed from Falmouth shipyards, along with three more from neighboring Scarborough. Together, their combined tonnage represented more than 57% of all tonnage from Maine. Southern Maine shipyards in York and Kittery accounted for only thirteen ships and 710 tons.<sup>56</sup> However, later port records from New Hampshire, covering July 31, 1770 - September 7, 1775, recorded four hundred and sixty-seven ships clearing outward.<sup>57</sup> Roughly sixteen percent, seventy-eight ships in total, were built in Maine shipyards. Still, all but six hailed from southern Maine, especially in Wells and York.<sup>58</sup> The exceptions were the four constructed in Arundel and two in

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<sup>55</sup> The *Greyhound* is listed in the ships clearing Salem and Marblehead between April 5 and July 5, 1758, in Massachusetts NOSL, CO 5/848, London, PRO, TNA, London, England. For information about Winthrop Sargent, see William Richard Cutter, *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs Relating to the Families of Boston and Eastern Massachusetts, Volume III* (New York, Lewis Historical Publishing Company 1908), 1209.

<sup>56</sup> This data should be considered indicative of shipbuilding in Maine, however, and not definitive, since the available records are not complete.

<sup>57</sup> What follows is based on my survey of the one thousand six hundred and ninety four ship clearances recorded in the Portsmouth Port Records from 1770 to 1775. See the Portsmouth Port Records, Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for details.

<sup>58</sup> This is my conclusion based on the records noted in the above footnote.

Pownalborough, both located in northern Maine far above Falmouth. Did Falmouth shipbuilding experience a crisis or decline? There is no record of such in the careful writings of Reverend Smith or in any of the Boston newspapers.<sup>59</sup>

Because the primary export from Falmouth to the West Indies derived from trees, some discussion of the working conditions and labor practices in the forest is required. Overall, workers in the woods faced numerous challenges.<sup>60</sup> Like their counterparts in New Hampshire, once the lumbermen cut a tree they had to transport it, which often involved oxen teams hauling trees through the forest towards a suitable waterway. The tree was rolled into a river and then guided downstream, unless a sawmill stood ready at the initial drop-off. This entire process was complicated under the best of circumstances. Conditions in the Falmouth region were hardly ideal.

Besides the very real threat of Indian resistance to loggers marking, sawing and hauling timber off Indian lands, those having to venture into the forest experienced several environmental challenges. During the winter, temperatures might drop below zero, prohibiting all but the most daring, or foolish, from attempting exposure to the elements. Snowfall, though useful as a cushion for falling trees, accumulated to such depths as to prevent any travel whatsoever, as Falmouth locals often noted.<sup>61</sup> Summer months were hardly better, despite the absence of snow. Dry spells triggered forest fires but even if the sun shone brightly and the heat was less than oppressive, workers faced constant harassment from flies. As one Bostonian newcomer, Thomas Scammell, discovered when he attempted to walk and inspect the woods,

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<sup>59</sup> Smith's journal entries do not contain any mention of shipbuilding disappearing and such a loss of manufacturing would have been noted. I have found no evidence of any shipbuilding crisis or decline mentioned in any of the Boston newspapers during this time period.

<sup>60</sup> What follows is a shortened version of what is discussed at length in chapter seven.

<sup>61</sup> Smith, *Journals*, 67.

“the summer was the most improper time” since “the flies would be very troublesome.”<sup>62</sup> Despite local warnings about the tenacity of the flies, Scammell headed out – only to quickly flee from the woods “not long” after setting foot in them because “the flies had such an effect on me I found myself somewhat indisposed, and was thereby obliged to return.”<sup>63</sup> As Scammell observed, “the Country people born on the skirts of the woods durst scarce ever make such attempts” yet those were the very same people whose livelihoods depended upon harvesting the forest. They did, regularly “make the attempt,” cutting nearly twenty one and a half million feet of board and planking between 1768 and 1772 (Tables 4.4-4.6). Such output was unthinkable just ten years earlier but now the settlers experienced a mini-boom after 1763 which lasted until the fall of 1775, when the consequences of the American Revolution arrived in port and British warships bombarded the town into ashes and brought everything to a halt.

Following British military victories during the Seven Years War and the eviction of French forces from Canada, Native Americans lost a significant source of support, reducing settlers’ fears, and the resulting peace in 1763 opened up an unprecedented wave of settlement and population growth in Maine. A census completed by 1765 recorded that the three counties of Maine: York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, contained 21,785 people, including 334 African-Americans (Table 4.1). Falmouth, the largest town in Maine, had a total population of 3,770, including 44 “Negroes”(Table 4.1). More than 17% of Maine’s population lived in Falmouth. By comparison, however, the entire population of Maine in 1765 was still quite small, not even reaching 10% of the population of Massachusetts-proper. Boston alone had a population of 14,672 in 1765. Nevertheless, the province experienced record increases in settlement. Just

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<sup>62</sup> Thomas Scammell to Governor Hutchinson, January 2, 1772 in *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, Volume XIV, (Portland, 1910), 152.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, 152.



eleven years after the 1765 census the total population in Maine rose to 47,767, a gain of 120%.<sup>64</sup> In Falmouth the population decreased slightly to 3,026, likely from the outpouring of settlers to newly established towns.<sup>65</sup> As more people settled in Maine the level of economic activity increased as well, coinciding with increased demand from West Indian plantation owners for more supplies as the heart of the Atlantic slave economy boomed. Falmouth was Maine's clearing port for ships packed with lumber products harvested in Maine's forests, moving down the Kennebec, Saco, and Presumpscot Rivers, loaded on locally built and crewed ships and clearing Casco Bay destined for the Caribbean.

Between 1768 and 1772 almost seven hundred voyages were made from Falmouth toward Atlantic ports. Over half of these cleared to West Indian destinations (Table 4.2). In all, three hundred and fifty seven trips were made, representing 51% of all voyages. The next remaining voyages were nearly evenly split between two regions: those headed across the Atlantic for Great Britain, accounting for 23%, and those headed to the coastal ports of North America, from Canada to Florida, representing 25%.

One hundred and sixty four transatlantic voyages were made from Falmouth; only one did not end in one of the ports of Great Britain.<sup>66</sup> There were no voyages recorded to Ireland. Similarly, despite the existence of slaves in Falmouth, and in Maine overall, there were no voyages to Africa. Apparently no slave-trading voyages to Africa originated from the province. Instead, enslaved Africans arrived via the coastal trade or when existing slaveowners brought

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<sup>64</sup> Numbers taken from the 1776 Census reprinted in *Collections of the American Statistical Association, Volume I: Part II, Containing Statistics of Population in Massachusetts*, prepared by Joseph B. Felt, (Boston: T.R. Marvin, 1847), 158-165.

<sup>65</sup> This does not include African-Americans, who were not listed by individual town but by county in the 1776 census. See Felt, *Collections of the American Statistical Association*, 213.

<sup>66</sup> There was a single voyage to Southern Europe in 1772 by a 64 ton ship with a mixed cargo of fish and wood products worth about £435. This was worth .003% of the total value of all exports from Falmouth. Cargo listing taken from the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK. The value of the cargo is based on prices listed in Tables 4-6 of this chapter.

their slaves overland when they moved to the province from Massachusetts, New Hampshire or elsewhere.<sup>67</sup>

One out of every four ships that left Falmouth was headed for another port along the North American British Atlantic coast. Regionally, of the one hundred and seventy-seven clearances in the coastal trade, the most heavily visited ports were those in New England. Compared to all other Atlantic destinations, more than one of out every ten clearances from Falmouth was essentially an intra-New England trip. Eighty-one voyages were made within the region, accounting for 45% of all coastal voyages. More than one out of every five coastal voyages was to New Haven or New London. Rhode Island, by comparison, drew fewer, with twenty-eight voyages, or slightly more than 15% of all coastal trips.<sup>68</sup> Ships headed to Portsmouth, New Hampshire much less frequently, making only twelve trips or over 6% of all coastal journeys.

Though trips to other Massachusetts ports were not recorded, they regularly occurred, shuttling people and goods but with less than uniform speed. One-way trips took anywhere from less than a full day to perhaps three days, depending on whether the ship stopped at an intermediary port along the journey. For example, on the evening of June 26, 1726, the Reverend Thomas Smith of Falmouth sailed for Boston, but stopped in at Portsmouth, New Hampshire first, before arriving at Cape Ann, Massachusetts on June 29.<sup>69</sup> Other waterborne trips were more direct. The Reverend Samuel Deane of Falmouth, for example, “set out for Boston” on September 18, 1768, by ship in the morning and arrived only a very short time later “to preach in

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<sup>67</sup> Joseph Williamson, “Slavery in Maine,” *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, Volume VII (1876), 213-215.

<sup>68</sup> Perhaps on the return voyage these ships brought a few slaves for sale in Falmouth? We can only speculate.

<sup>69</sup> Smith, *Journals*, 46.

the forenoon.”<sup>70</sup> A return trip, however, might take far longer, as Deane experienced returning from Newbury, Massachusetts on October 4, 1768, on board Capt Bradbury’s ship, which took eight hours to make the northward journey before landing at Captain Pearson’s wharf in Falmouth.<sup>71</sup> Trips from Boston might take even longer. Reverend Smith’s voyages ranged from seventeen hours, on September 1, 1736, which was “a fine passage,”<sup>72</sup> to longer ones, like his adventure two years earlier, in 1734. That began on September 25, and sometime on the 27<sup>th</sup> Smith happily recorded that he “got home, found all well, thanks to God.”<sup>73</sup>

Any water transport made quicker trips than overland trips by horseback, which took considerably longer depending upon the weather and the number of stops along the way. One rider “set out this afternoon for Boston” on November 21, 1725, and arrived five days later, “having rode in all one hundred and twenty-four miles.”<sup>74</sup> Three years later, the same rider headed for the capital again, leaving on January 29, 1728 and arriving February 3. The six day trip was shorter than his ten day return ride, in the harsh temperatures of mid-February, where he thanked God for getting back and observed the long distance traveled, “I have rode in all the journey three hundred and nineteen miles.”<sup>75</sup> Such a journey might work for one man travelling alone, or even two by carriage, but for the large-scale movement of heavy commodities derived from wood, which were the main exports from Falmouth, land travel was impractical and expensive.<sup>76</sup> Therefore, watercraft remained the essential means of transportation.

Such was the case with the coastal voyages from Falmouth. Thirty-two clearances were headed northward from Falmouth to Canadian ports, which accounted for 4.5% of all voyages

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<sup>70</sup> Deane, *Journals*, 323.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, 323-324.

<sup>72</sup> Smith, *Journals*, 85.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, 81.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, 48.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, 67.

<sup>76</sup> The details on this are provided in the following pages.

and 18% of all coastal ones. This was dominated by trips to Newfoundland, with twenty-five voyages, compared to just seven to Nova Scotia and none to Quebec. Voyages to the Middle Colonies accounted for more than 14% of all coastal trips. The twenty-six trips were nearly all to New York, which received twenty-one; five were made to Philadelphia and none to the Jerseys. Slightly more than three percent of all voyages headed further down to the southern slave ports between Virginia and South Carolina. Twenty-three voyages were made to this region; eleven to Virginia, six to Maryland, and four to North Carolina. Farther southern ports held less appeal, as only one voyage each was made to South Carolina, in 1769, and West Florida, in 1772, while none headed to Georgia or East Florida. Finally, fourteen voyages were made to Bermuda while only one, in 1770, was made to the Bahamas.

Although ship clearances reveal that the West Indies was the most frequent destination for captains sailing out of Falmouth, tonnage figures clarify that these ships carried less than their counterparts headed overseas to Great Britain (Table 4.3). This was due to the fact that Falmouth ships carried large amounts of timber, in either raw or finished form. More than half of the tonnage between 1768 and 1772, 27,052 tons out of 53,073 in total, ended up in Great Britain<sup>77</sup> (Table 4.3). Thus, though fewer voyages were made they were larger ships and carried more goods, in terms of bulk. Raw timber accounted for a large percentage of this, as over 18,000 tons of pine timber were exported, along with over nearly 10,000 tons of oak and 688 tons of maple (Table 4.6). Shipbuilding essentials like masts, bowsprits, yards, and spars also contributed to the large amount of tonnage, in terms of bulk. For example, there were nearly

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<sup>77</sup> One must bear in mind that this is the registered tonnage and not the actual cargo capacity or cargo tonnage. In general a ship's registered tonnage was only 50% of the actual capacity tonnage. See John McCusker, *Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 43-75.

4,000 tons of masts loaded in these ships. This, along with the 4.2 million feet of pine board and plank, accounted for the bulk of the cargo weight freighted across the Atlantic to English ports.

Tonnage to the West Indies totaled 17,874 tons and represented about one-third of all tonnage clearing Falmouth (Table 4.3). The coastal trade represented much less tonnage, just over 15% overall, totaling 8,083 tons. These were most likely small ships making many journeys and, as previously mentioned, nearly half were trips made within New England, especially to southern New England. Just over 40% of all coastal tonnage went to New England, 14.5% went to the Middle Colonies, nearly 12% to the Southern Colonies. That lone voyage to the Bahamas in 1770 was in a small boat, fifteen tons, while the remaining five hundred and fifty-eight tons, nearly seven percent of the overall coastal trade tonnage, was registered heading to the Bermudas.

Ship and tonnage figures between 1768 and 1772 for entrances into Falmouth largely mirror the clearances, though in a slightly smaller degree; eighteen percent less in both categories.<sup>78</sup> Thus, though 698 ships and 53,073 tons were recorded clearing Falmouth, only 569 ships and 43,464 tons entered. Among ships entering, the largest number, 237 of the 569 overall, came from the West Indies, accounting for over 41% of the total and constituting the largest single import area. Tonnage entering from the West Indies accounted for over 27% and the coastal trade nearly 20%. Breaking down coastal trade tonnage reveals that over half came from New England and within the region was nearly evenly split between New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> These is my estimate based on data derived from the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

<sup>79</sup> These are my figures and totals as derived from the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK. Of course, no intra-colony trade with other Massachusetts' ports was recorded though earlier in the section the evidence suggests that such trade existed on a

However, tonnage figures also reveal that half of all the tonnage entered from Great Britain.<sup>80</sup> These were big mast ships. Consider that Boston was the major regional center of British imports for all of New England throughout the colonial era, and tonnage entering the port from Great Britain between 1768 and 1772 totaled 37,936 tons. Falmouth had the second largest amount: 21,769 tons, which was nearly double the tonnage entering every other New England port combined.<sup>81</sup> A competitive distribution by Falmouth merchants of English goods to other ports in southern New England versus their counterparts in Boston seems unlikely since merchants in the latter port imported larger amounts, were geographically closer to their customers, and could offer lower prices. A workable hypothesis suggests that the larger registered tonnage figure represented the continued presence of mast ships, which continued to arrive and carry away these tall treasures to Great Britain, as the next section on cargos and values indicates.

Having reviewed the ships and tonnage clearing and entering Falmouth we now turn to the commodities on board those ships and their corresponding values. This information, which has never previously appeared in scholarship, reveals the importance of the West Indies (Table 4.5). Exports to the coastal trade amounted to £34,498, accounting for 26% of the total value of all exports. However, re-exports of slave labor produced goods from the plantation complex in the West Indies or their derivatives, accounted for 44% of the value of coastal exports.

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regular basis. In addition, Smith recorded in his journal on August 19, 1751 sailing from Falmouth to Boston “log-laden with a tow of masts.” Smith, *Journals*, 147.

<sup>80</sup> Falmouth’s high registered tonnage figure is explored below. McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British North America*, 277-294, identifies five major import categories on page 283: “crude or raw materials (such as coal, wool, or cotton); crude or raw foods (tea, fruits, spices); processed or manufactured foods (wine, butter, flour, sugar); semimanufactured goods (pig iron, lumber, indigo); and manufactured goods (cloth, shoes, wooden casks).” They list many of the specific items in Table 13.2 on page 284.

<sup>81</sup> The total tonnage for all the other ports was 11,402 tons broken down as follows: Salem and Marblehead – 2,016 tons, New Hampshire – 5,650 tons, Rhode Island – 2,565 tons, and Connecticut – 1,171 tons. All the figures are my totals derived from the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK

Approximately £15,327 of the £34,497 generated from coastal exports was generated by West Indian commodities (Table 4.8). Though Falmouth ships carried a wide variety of West-Indian products, molasses or rum generated more than 75% of the overall value. Some of the rum was produced locally in Falmouth. Five of the leading merchants, Jedidiah Preble, Enoch and Daniel Ilsley, Simeon Mayo and John White, pooled their capital into investing in a large distillery which had its own wharf at the end of Fore Street.<sup>82</sup>

Exports to the West Indies were the most important, in terms of export value, worth £56,547 and generating over 42% of all the value from all exports (Table 4.8). Four items constituted more than 83% of the value of all the exports from Falmouth to the West Indies: pine boards and plank, houseframes, fish, and shingles (Table 4.5). The single most valuable commodity exported was pine board and plank, valued at £22,375 and representing more than 39% of the total value of all exports to the region. An unknown number of sawmills existed in the Falmouth region but there must have been quite a few in operation after 1763, given the high volume generated for the West Indian market. Between 1768 and 1772 Falmouth ships carried 17,212,144 feet of pine board and plank. This represented nearly 10% of the total amount exported from all of British North America to the West Indies and made the Falmouth region the fourth largest supplier overall.

Houseframes were the second most valuable item exported to the West Indies, valued at £12,800 and accounting for over 22% of the total value of exports to this region. Framers in Falmouth and surrounding communities produced six hundred and forty house frames between 1768 and 1772 for the West Indian market. The absence of surviving records prevents a full accounting of their use in the plantation complex but some undoubtedly became mills, boiling or

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<sup>82</sup> Outwin, "Thriving and Elegant Town: Eighteenth-Century Portland as Commercial Center," 32.

curing houses. Others, perhaps, became part of the grand mansions for the absentee planters. Regardless of their end-use, if a house frame from British North America arrived in the West Indies between 1768 and 1772 most likely a Falmouth framer had built it. These men dominated the market, exporting more houseframes than anyone else. Of the eight hundred and twenty seven houseframes sent to the West Indies from all ports in British North America, six hundred and forty, accounting for more than 77% overall, were from Falmouth.<sup>83</sup> Thus, houseframers from Falmouth were the number one suppliers to the plantation complex.

Another wood product, shingles, accounted for over 8% of the total value of exports to the West Indies. Valued at £4,963, these roofing materials probably sat atop Falmouth made houseframes on the plantation. Shingle makers were very busy, hand-making over 12.5 million shingles between 1768 and 1772, in a repetitive labor process of mind-numbing drudgery.<sup>84</sup> Here again the importance of the forest in the economic livelihoods of Falmouth area colonists becomes very clear. Some men, however, opted for the sea instead of the woods to make a living.

Falmouth fishermen contributed the third most valuable commodity exported to the West Indies; fish, valued at £7,791, and accounting for nearly 14% of the value of all exports to this region. Fisherman had been casting lines off vessels in Maine's Atlantic waters even before the first permanent settlement. In 1602, English fishermen sailed across the Atlantic, marveling at the catches found in the Atlantic region off Maine's coast. For example, Gabriel Archer in the *Concord* fished in the Gulf of Maine in 1602 and separately George Weymouth made a "most

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<sup>83</sup> These are my figures and totals as derived from the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

<sup>84</sup> For a very brief description of shingle making, based on the present day attempts by Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia to recreate colonial laboring techniques, see Henry Wiencek, *An Imperfect God: George Washington, His Slaves and the Creation of America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), 108. Wiencek makes some shingles himself and comments on the repetitive nature of the process.



prosperous voyage” in 1605.<sup>85</sup> They were latecomers to a region where fishermen from various European ports fished in the broader region oceanographers now call “the Northeast Shelf large marine ecosystem stretching from Cape Cod to Newfoundland,” including Maine.<sup>86</sup> Various temporary fishing stations were establishing in Maine, especially in the southern areas, in the seventeenth century.<sup>87</sup> In Falmouth men likely headed out to catch fish from the beginning, initially just to supplement landed food stocks and then hopefully to sell any surplus abroad. Still, this was a small operation even by the mid-1750s. In 1756 there were at least four fishing schooners operating from Casco Bay, getting “bait at Tenants Harbor, a little to the Eastward of Pleasant Point.”<sup>88</sup> Between 1768 and 1772 Falmouth fishermen had caught enough fish to export 12,703 quintals of dried fish and 688 barrels of pickled fish to the West Indies.

By contrast, there were almost no fish exported to Great Britain from Falmouth, and ships bound across the Atlantic for English ports were loaded with mainly timber and timber-derived products to the sum value of £41,034 (Table 4.6). This represented over 30% of the total value of all exports and except for 1,700 gallons of rum, all the exports were locally produced and mostly began as tall trees lining the countryside. Sawyers worked long and hard between 1768 and 1772, transforming felled pine timber into more than 4.2 million feet of boards and plank worth £5565. British customers favored oak as well, and were willing to pay much more for the hardier wood, so lumbermen swung their axes against these trees and after using teams of oxen to drag the cut timber over the snow and to the river where boatman guided the trees to the mills, sawyers cut 312,670 feet, valued at £7035. Other buyers sought the larger trees in their raw form

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<sup>85</sup> W. Jeffrey Bolster, “Putting the Ocean in Atlantic History,” *American Historical Review* (February 2008), 20, 27.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-25.

<sup>87</sup> Daniel Vickers, *Farmers and Fisherman: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 85-108.

<sup>88</sup> *Boston Gazette*, October 4, 1756.

and so over 16,000 tons of oak, pine, maple and ash trees, worth a combined £16,546 were loaded unto ships in Casco Bay. In combination, these two commodities, boards/planks and timber, represented over 70% of the total value of all exports to Great Britain. In fact, wood products, in one form or another, accounted for the vast majority of the remaining value as well (Table 4.6).

The value of Maine's forests around the Falmouth area had been visible to men like David Dunbar, though he saw the trees only in one dimension: fit for masts. Historians have essentially followed his lead, overlooking the connection between the rise of Falmouth after the decline of Indian resistance in the mid-eighteenth century and the West Indian slave economy. Wood products, including masts and other naval stores, along with raw timber, continued to be exported to Great Britain, but the majority of export value from Falmouth derived from servicing the demands of the Atlantic slave economy in the Caribbean (Table 4.8). Exports to the slave labor plantation regimes in the West Indies accounted for over 42% of the total value of all exports, the single most valuable region. Even the coastal trade was heavily dependent upon re-exporting slave produced West Indian goods like molasses and sugar, or their by-product, rum, distilled in Falmouth. Re-exported West Indian commodities or their derivatives in the coastal trade accounted for 11% of the total value of all exports. Thus, over half of the value of all exports from Falmouth depended upon supplying the needs of the plantation complex in the West Indies. The insatiable desire for wood products drove lumbermen to cut down an untold number of trees to feed the sawmills as sawyers cut millions of board feet and became the fourth largest supplier of pine board and plank from British North America to the West Indies. In addition, houseframers produced more than three quarters of the exported houseframes supplying the West Indies from British North America, while men making shingles altered raw timber into

yet another commodity. Alongside the wood loaded on ships anchored in the “commodious” Casco Bay were fish caught from the small but steady fishing fleet operating from the port. For too long Falmouth’s economic history has been skewed by a narrow focus on the mast trade to Great Britain and Maine’s status as a province of Massachusetts. Dunbar’s vision captured only part of the story, the other, larger part, lies in the plantation complex of the West Indies.

**Table 4-1 Population of Maine 1765**

<b>York County</b>			
<b>Town</b>	<b>White Pop.</b>	<b>Slave Pop.</b>	<b>Total Pop.</b>
York	2221	56	2277
Kittery	2296	62	2358
Wells	1529	34	1563
Berwick	2330	44	2374
Arundel	828	5	833
Biddeford	725	12	737
Pepperelboro	536	2	538
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>10465</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>10680</b>
<b>Cumberland County</b>			
<b>Town</b>	<b>White Pop.</b>	<b>Slave Pop.</b>	<b>Total Pop.</b>
Falmouth	3726	44	3770
North Yarmouth	1061	18	1079
Scarboro	1257	15	1272
Harpswell	822	14	836
Brunswick	500	4	504
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7366</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>7461</b>
<b>Lincoln County</b>			
<b>Town</b>	<b>White Pop.</b>	<b>Slave Pop.</b>	<b>Total Pop.</b>
Pownalboro	890	9	899
Georgetown	1317	12	1329
Bowdoinham	219	1	220
Newcastle	453	1	454
Woolwich	415	0	415
Topsham	326	1	327
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3620</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>3644</b>

**Note:** The above does not include the Indian population. Felt suggests there may have been a total of 2,300 Indians living in Maine at this time. Massachusetts Census 1763-1765, reprinted in *Collections of the American Statistical Association, Volume I: Part II, Containing Statistics of Population in Massachusetts*, prepared by Joseph B. Felt, (Boston: T.R. Marvin, 1847), 148-157, for the white population and 211-213 for the slave population.

**Table 4-2 Ship Clearances From Falmouth: 1768 – 1772**

	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	
<b>Destination</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Totals</b>
Great Britain	29	36	47	25	26	163
Ireland	0	0	0	0	0	0
Europe	0	0	0	0	1	1
Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0
West Indies	56	55	83	75	88	357
Newfoundland	4	8	2	5	6	25
Quebec	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nova Scotia	0	3	4	0	0	7
New Hampshire	0	5	1	4	2	12
Massachusetts	0	0	0	0	0	0
Connecticut	0	12	11	6	12	41
Rhode Island	2	12	8	5	1	28
New York	1	4	5	5	6	21
Jerseys	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pennsylvania	0	3	0	0	2	5
Maryland	0	1	2	1	2	6
Virginia	3	3	2	2	1	11
North Carolina	1	2	1	0	0	4
South Carolina	0	1	0	0	0	1
Georgia	0	0	0	0	0	0
East Florida	0	0	0	0	0	0
West Florida	0	0	0	0	1	1
Bahamas	0	0	1	0	0	1
Bermuda	3	0	4	7	0	14
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>698</b>

**Source:** Totals are mine based on the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 4-3 Tonnage Clearing Falmouth: 1768 – 1772**

	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	
<b>Destination</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>Totals</b>
Great Britain	4,566	7,187	7,959	3,548	3,792	27,052
Ireland	0	0	0	0	0	0
Europe	0	0	0	0	64	64
Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0
West Indies	2,906	2,519	4,050	3,839	4,560	17,874
Newfoundland	205	915	70	215	360	1,765
Quebec	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nova Scotia	0	115	240	0	0	355
New Hampshire	0	130	25	440	64	659
Massachusetts	0	0	0	0	0	0
Connecticut	0	423	394	221	452	1,490
Rhode Island	75	466	380	165	25	1,111
New York	50	190	190	230	275	935
Jerseys	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pennsylvania	0	145	0	0	95	240
Maryland	0	20	50	75	95	240
Virginia	200	125	50	65	60	500
North Carolina	70	55	30	0	0	155
South Carolina	0	15	0	0	0	15
Georgia	0	0	0	0	0	0
East Florida	0	0	0	0	0	0
West Florida	0	0	0	0	45	45
Bahamas	0	0	15	0	0	15
Bermuda	145	0	170	243	0	558
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>8,217</b>	<b>12,305</b>	<b>13,623</b>	<b>9,041</b>	<b>9,887</b>	<b>53,073</b>

**Note:** T stands for tonnage. Totals are mine based on the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

Table 4-4 Exports from Falmouth to the Coastal Trade: 1768 – 1772

Commodity	Quantity Imported	Quantity Exported	PPU	Value (£)
<b>Apples - Common (bbs)</b>	245	0		
<b>Axes (n)</b>				
1768	0	2		
1769	18	2225		
1770	0	60		
1771	0	12		
1772	9	18		
<b>TOTALS</b>	27	2317		
<b>Beer (bbs.)</b>	172	7		
<b>Boats (n)</b>	0	2		
<b>Booms (n)</b>	0	6		
<b>Bowspits (n)</b>				
1768	0	2		
1771	0	13		
1772	0	21		
<b>TOTAL</b>	0	36	<b>15.03</b>	541.08
<b>Bran (bus)</b>	1,066			
<b>Bread &amp; Flour (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1768	24 t, 1 cwt, 2 q	0		
1769	31 t, 10 cwt	75 t, 16 cwt, 3 q		
1770	40 t, 15 cwt, 1 q, 6 lbs	10 cwt		
1771	65 t, 1 cwt, 2 q	2 t		
1772	81 t, 11 cwt, 2 q	0		

Table 4-4 (continued)

<b>TOTALS</b>	241 t, 38 cwt, 17 q, 6 lbs	77 t, 26 cwt, 3 q	<b>11/T</b>	858
<b>Bricks (n)</b>				
1769		18,500		
1772		16,000		
<b>TOTALS</b>		34,500	<b>0.0005</b>	17.25
<b>Butter (lbs.)</b>				
1768	0	0		
1769	75	200		
1770	75	0		
1771+cheese	562	0		
1772	140	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	852	200	<b>0.02</b>	4
<b>Candles - Spermaceti (lbs)</b>	0	170	<b>.062/LBS</b>	10.54
<b>Candles - Tallow (lbs)</b>				
1768	0	600		
1769	2600	940		
1770	600	200		
<b>TOTALS</b>	3200	1740	<b>0.02</b>	34.8
<b>Carcases - Beef (n)</b>	6	0		
<b>Carriages - chairs</b>	0	1		
<b>Carriages - chaises</b>	0	10		
<b>Cattle</b>	2	1	<b>4.5L</b>	4.5
<b>Cedar - Bolts (n)</b>	0	2 cords		



Table 4-4 (continued)

<b>Cheese (lbs)</b>				
1769	100	9705		
1770	1,792	1000		
1771	0	1428		
1772	5,289	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	7,181	12133	<b>0.016</b>	194.12
<b>Chocolate (lbs)</b>				
1769	0	7813		
1770	0	470		
1771	0	390		
1772	990	900		
<b>TOTALS</b>	990	9573	<b>0.05639</b>	539.83
<b>Clapboards (n)</b>				
1768	0	8000		
1769	0	2800		
1770	0	5000		
1771	0	1000		
1772	0	18000		
<b>TOTALS</b>	0	34800	<b>0.00175</b>	60.9
<b>Cocoa (lbs)</b>	336	9050	<b>0.0249</b>	225.34
<b>Coffee (cwt, q, lbs)</b>	0	12 cwt, 3 q, 15 lbs	<b>1.97</b>	23.64
<b>Cotton (lbs)</b>				
1769	1070	1252		
1770	1081	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	2151	1252	<b>0.05</b>	62.6
<b>Cyder (bbs)</b>	1	258.25		

Table 4-4 (continued)

<b>Earthenware - Barrels</b>	0	1 hogshead		
<b>Earthenstoneware (hh)</b>	1.5	0		
<b>Feathers (lbs)</b>	950	0		
<b>Firewood (cords)</b>	0	57		
<b>Fish - Dried (q)</b>				
1768	0	6		
1769	13479	321.5		
1770	600	120		
1771	20	80		
1772	85	8		
<b>TOTALS</b>	14184	535.5	<b>0.568</b>	304.16
<b>Fish - Pickled (bbs)</b>				
1768	0	10		
1769	366	692.5		
1770	12	9		
1771	0	13		
1772	0	20		
<b>TOTALS</b>	378	744.5	<b>0.75</b>	558.37
<b>Flax (lbs)</b>				
1768	0	0		
1769	3362	305		
1770	942	0		
1771	3020	0		
1772	4500	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	11824	305	<b>0.031</b>	9.45
<b>Flaxseed (lbs)</b>				
1769	18.5	306		
1770	0	0		

Table 4-4 (continued)

1771	7	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	25.5	306	<b>0.112</b>	34.27
<b>Frunnels (n)</b>	2000	11000	<b>0.046</b>	506
<b>Furniture - Chairs</b>	20	564		
<b>Furniture - Desks</b>	3	2		
<b>Furniture - Drawer Cases</b>	1771-1			
<b>Furniture - Tables</b>	1769-1	1769-60, 1770-1		
<b>Furs (lbs)</b>	120	0		
<b>Gin</b>	3 q, 16 lbs	9cwt, 3 q, 8 lbs		
<b>Ginger</b>	1770-4.5 bbs, 1772-1.5	0	<b>0.447</b>	
<b>Hams (lbs)</b>	5 t, 10 cwt	0		
<b>Hay</b>	8t, 5 cwt	0		
<b>Hemp (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>	4728	0		
<b>Hoops (n)</b>				
1768	0	4,000		
1769	4,000	10,200		
<b>TOTALS</b>	4,000	14,200	<b>0.00225</b>	31.95
<b>Hoops - Tress (Sets)</b>	50	0		
<b>Horses (n)</b>	1	6	<b>15L</b>	90
<b>Houseframes (n)</b>				
1771	0	2		
1772	0	1		

Table 4-4 (continued)

<b>TOTAL</b>	0	3	<b>20/EACH</b>	60
<b>Indian Corn (bus)</b>				
1768	10069	0		
1769	107404	1646		
1770	9301	0		
1771	10298	1080		
1772	5254	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	142326	2726	<b>0.0749</b>	204.17
<b>Indigo (lbs)</b>	1753	2228	<b>0.225</b>	501.3
<b>Iron - Bar (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1768	7 t, 10 cwt	0		
1769	432 t, 8 cwt, 20 lbs	44 t, 5 cwt, 17 lbs		
1770	1 t	0		
1771	8 t, 10 cwt	0		
1772	25 t	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	473 t, 28 cwt, 20 lbs	44 t, 5 cwt, 17 lbs	<b>14.96/T</b>	658.24
<b>Iron - Cast (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1768	0	3 cwt, 2 q		
1769	2 t, 3 cwt, 2 q, 12 lbs	98 t, 12 cwt, 7 lbs		
1770	0	10 cwt		
1771	0	1 cwt, 2 q		
1772	0	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	2 t, 3 cwt, 2 q, 12 lbs	99 t, 26 cwt, 4 q, 7 lbs	<b>16.5/T</b>	1633.5
<b>Iron - Pig</b>				
1768	40 t	0		

Table 4-4 (continued)

1769	227 t, 15 cwt	31 t, 15 cwt		
1770	0	0		
1771	0	0		
1772	0	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	267 t, 15 cwt	31 t, 15 cwt	<b>5/T</b>	155
<b>Lampblack (bbs)</b>	250	400		
<b>Laths (n)</b>	0	15000		
<b>Leather (lbs)</b>				
1769	1720	2872		
1770	0	224		
1771	96-dressed	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1720	3096		
<b>Lignum Vitae (t)</b>	19 t	2 t, 1 cwt	<b>4.5/t</b>	9
<b>Logwood (t)</b>	118t, 12 cwt, 2 q	4t, 8 cwt, 1 q	<b>4.49/T</b>	17.96
<b>Lime (bus)</b>	370-1768, 4560- 1769, 1771-48, 1772-112	1,450		
<b>Limes and Oranges (n)</b>	4,000	0		
<b>Lumber - Bark (cords)</b>	0	19		
<b>Lumber Blocks</b>	0	238		
<b>Mahogany - Square Feet</b>	1000	0		

Table 4-4 (continued)

<b>Mahagony - Logs</b>	30 ft	0		
<b>Masts (n)</b>				
1768	0	19		
1769	0	4		
1771	0	52		
1772	0	47		
<b>TOTAL</b>	0	122	<b>23.05</b>	2812.10
<b>Mast Hoops (doz)</b>	0	13		
<b>Masts, Yard, Bowspits (n)</b>	0	37	<b>17.53</b>	648.61
<b>Meal (bus)</b>	0	402	<b>0.1</b>	40.2
<b>Molasses (g)</b>				
1768	500	340		
1769	500	79433		
1770	405	693		
1771	2053	790		
1772	1936	105		
<b>TOTALS</b>	5394	81,361	<b>0.049</b>	3986.68
<b>Oak Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>				
1769	0	4500		
1770	0	15000		
<b>TOTALS</b>	0	19500	<b>0.0013</b>	25.35
<b>Oars (ft)</b>				
1769	0	4006		
1770	0	2000		
1771	0	2,260		

Table 4-4 (continued)

<b>TOTALS</b>	0	8266	<b>0.00625</b>	51.66
<b>Oats (bbs)</b>				
1770	523	0		
1771	70	0		
1772	80	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	673	0	<b>0.05</b>	0
<b>Oil - Blubber (bbs)</b>				
1771	0	2		
1772	0	4		
<b>TOTALS</b>	0	6	<b>15/T</b>	90
<b>Oil - Fish</b>				
1768	0	94 g		
1769	4t, 236 g	75t, 50 g		
1770	0	0		
1771	0	2t, 130 g		
<b>TOTALS</b>	4t, 236 g	77 t, 274 g	<b>.059/G</b>	1161
		19678 g - con.		
<b>Oil - Linseed</b>				
1769	1 t, 96 g	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1 t, 96 g	0		
<b>Oil - Train (g)</b>	0	60 g	<b>15L/T</b>	3.45
<b>Onions - bushels</b>				
1769	0	97		
1770	12	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	12	97	<b>.004/lbs</b>	0.38
<b>Onions - ropes</b>				
1768				
1769	34,300	300		

Table 4-4 (continued)

1772	300	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	34,600	300	<b>.004/lbs</b>	1.2
<b>Pails (n)</b>	0	1 dozen		
<b>Paper (reams)</b>	141	0		
<b>Peas (bus)</b>				
1768	6	0		
1769	745	5		
1770	188	7		
1771	52	0		
1772	52	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1043	12	<b>0.2</b>	2.4
<b>Pimento</b>	0	50	<b>0.024</b>	1.2
<b>Pine Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>				
1768	0	336,000		
1769	174,100	192,500		
1770	0	667,000		
1771	20,000	67,800		
1772	0	811,000		
<b>TOTALS</b>	194,100	2,074,300	<b>0.0013</b>	2696.59
<b>Pitch (bbs)</b>				
1769	626	16		
1770	20	0		
1771	10	15		
1772	3	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	659	31	<b>0.349</b>	10.81



Table 4-4 (continued)

<b>Pork &amp; Beef (bbs)</b>				
1768	13	0		
1769	73 t, 3 cwt	20 t, 18 cwt		
1770	25 t, 14 cwt	0		
1771	87 bbs	0		
1772	45 bbs	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	98 t, 145 bbs, 17 cwt	20 t, 18 cwt	<b>2.12/BBS</b>	429.75
		202.71 bbs		
<b>Potatoes (bus)</b>	214	883	<b>0.0375</b>	33.11
<b>Poultry (doz)</b>	1012.5	0		
<b>Pumps (n)</b>				
1770	0	6		
1771	0	10		
1772	0	18		
<b>Total</b>	0	34		
<b>Racks (doz)</b>	0	20		
<b>Rice (bbs)</b>	840	86	<b>2.25</b>	193.5
<b>Rum - New England (g)</b>				
1768	0	1,760		
1769	900	118801		
1770	666	1017		
1771	570	1395		
1772	100	290		
<b>TOTALS</b>	2236	123,263	<b>0.062</b>	7642.3

Table 4-4 (continued)

<b>Rum - West Indian</b>				
1768	1,700	0		
1769	0	5,030		
1770	500	390		
1771	90	0		
1772	2,005	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	4,295	5,420	<b>0.1</b>	542
<b>Rye (bus)</b>				
1769	3,976	28		
1770	523	0		
1771	350	0		
1772	160	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	5,009	28	<b>0.05</b>	1.4
<b>Salt (bus)</b>				
1768	400	0		
1769	3,728	12,403		
1770	45	350		
1771	3,340	40		
1772	1,700	600		
<b>TOTALS</b>	9,213	13,393	<b>0.051</b>	683.04
<b>Sheep (n)</b>	50	0		
<b>Shingles (n)</b>				
1768	25,000	360,000		
1769	16,000	101,000		
1770	0	59,000		
1771	15,000	152,000		
1772	0	25,000		

Table 4-4 (continued)

<b>TOTALS</b>	56,000	697,000	<b>0.000397</b>	276.7
<b>Shoes (pairs)</b>				
1769	0	4907		
1770	24	0		
1771	0	0		
1772	0	40		
<b>TOTALS</b>	24	4947	<b>0.125</b>	618.37
<b>Shook Hogsheads</b>				
1768	0	395		
1769	144	530		
<b>TOTALS</b>	144	925	<b>0.125</b>	115.62
<b>Sieves (n)</b>	0	1 dozen		
<b>Skins</b>	20 moose, 10 calf, 80 raw deer	0		
<b>Snakeroot (lbs)</b>	186	0		
<b>Soap - Hard (lbs)</b>	50	0		
<b>Soap - Soft (bbs)</b>	2	0		
<b>Soap - (bbs)</b>	13 (no type specified)	0		
<b>Spars (n, iunches)</b>				
1768	0	2000		
1769	0	22		
1770	0	2968		
1771	0	1965		
1772	0	1662		
<b>TOTALS</b>	0	8617		

Table 4-4 (continued)

<b>Staves (n)</b>				
1768	3,000	11,000		
1769	54,250	1,000		
1770	12,000	4,000		
1771	30,000	28,000		
1772	4,700	5,000		
<b>TOTALS</b>	103,950	49,000	<b>0.00299</b>	146.51
<b>Stones - Grind (n)</b>				
1769	12	0		
1771	1	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	13	0		
<b>Sugar - Brown (cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1768	13 cwt, 1 q, 16 lbs	0		
1769	0	567 cwt, 3 q, 12 lbs		
1770	178 cwt	22 cwt, 1 q		
1771	59 cwt, 6 lbs	31 cwt		
1772	8 cwt, 1 q, 24 lbs	3 cwt, 11 lbs		
<b>TOTALS</b>	258 cwt, 2 q, 46 lbs	623 cwt, 4 q, 23 lbs	<b>1.578</b>	983
<b>Sugar - Loaf (lbs)</b>				
1768				
1769	0	829		
1770	0	2503		
1771	0	200		
1772	50	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	50	3532	<b>0.031</b>	109.49
<b>Tallow &amp; Lard (lbs)</b>				
1769	10260	1300		
1770	950	0		
1771	650	0		

Table 4-4 (continued)

1772	240	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	12100	1300	<b>0.02</b>	26
<b>Tar (bbs)</b>				
1769	769	0		
1770	20	0		
1771	170	21		
1772	22	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	981	21	<b>0.3</b>	6.3
<b>Timber - Oak (t)</b>				
1770	20 t	264 t		
1771	34 t, 20 ft	0		
1772	20 t	0		
<b>TOTAL</b>	74 t, 20 ft	264 t	<b>.9/T</b>	237.6
<b>Timber - Pine (t)</b>				
1770	0	16		
1771	68 t	0		
1772	70 t	0		
<b>TOTAL</b>	138 t	16 t	<b>.4/T</b>	14.4
<b>Timber - Walnut (t)</b>	8 t, 20 ft	0		
<b>Tobacco (lbs)</b>				
1769	0	580		
1770	0	0		
1771	3159	2225		
1772	1939	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	5098	2805	<b>0.019</b>	53.29
<b>Tons - Cloth (yds)</b>	1772-300			

Table 4-4 (continued)

<b>Turpentine (bbs)</b>				
1769	157	6		
1770	20	0		
1771	161	0		
<b>TOTAL</b>	338	6	<b>0.4</b>	2.4
<b>Walnut Boards (ft)</b>	100	0		
<b>Wax (lbs)</b>	387	0		
<b>Whalefins (lbs)</b>	9,452	0		
<b>Wheat (bus)</b>				
1770	20	0		
1771	136	0		
1772	2	0		
<b>TOTAL</b>	158	0		
<b>Wine of the Azores</b>				
1769	3 t, 210 g	60 t, 103 g		
1772	30 g	0		
<b>TOTAL</b>	3 T, 240 g	60 t, 103 g	<b>54/T</b>	3240
<b>Wood - Blocks (ft)</b>	0	50		
<b>Yards (n)</b>				
1771	0	7		
1772	0	11		
<b>TOTAL</b>	0	18	<b>14.53</b>	261.54
			<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>34,497.92</b>

**Note:** All commodity listings and totals are mine based on the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK. For prices, see the Rhode Island Appendix.

Table 4-5 Exports from Falmouth to the West Indies: 1768 – 1772

Commodity	Quantity Exported	PPU	Total Value (£)
<b>Anchor Stocks (n)</b>	3		
<b>Boats (n)</b>			
1769	1		
<b>Bowsprits (n)</b>			
1769	4	15.03	60.12
<b>Bread &amp; Flour (t, cwt)</b>			
1772	15 cwt		
<b>TOTALS</b>	15 cwt	11 L/T	8.25
<b>Bricks (n)</b>			
1768	16,000		
1769	5,000		
1770	9,000		
1771	17,000		
1772	25,000		
<b>TOTALS</b>	72,000	0.0005	36
<b>Candles - Spermaceti (lbs)</b>			
1770	3,500		
1772	7,950		
<b>TOTALS</b>	11,450	.062/LBS	709.9
<b>Cattle</b>			
1768	10		
1769	28		
1770	71		
1772	36		
<b>TOTALS</b>	145	4.5L	652.5

Table 4-5 (continued)

<b>Cheese (lbs)</b>			
1770	1,200		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1,200	<b>0.016</b>	<b>19.2</b>
<b>Clapboards (n)</b>			
1768	9,000		
1769	7,000		
1770	6,500		
1771	3,000		
1772	35,000		
<b>TOTALS</b>	60,500	<b>0.00175</b>	<b>105.87</b>
<b>Fish - Dried (q)</b>			
1768	2,206		
1769	1,728		
1770	2,214		
1771	2,995		
1772	3,560		
<b>TOTALS</b>	12,703	<b>0.568</b>	<b>7215.3</b>
<b>Fish - Pickled (bbs)</b>			
1768	66		
1769	271		
1770	132		
1771	38.5		
1772	180		
<b>TOTALS</b>	688	<b>0.75</b>	<b>516</b>
<b>Furniture - Chairs</b>			
1772	12		
<b>TOTALS</b>	12		
<b>Furniture - Desks</b>			
1769	4		



Table 4-5 (continued)

1770	5		
1772	4		
<b>TOTALS</b>	13		
<b>Furniture - Tables</b>			
1769	4		
1770	1		
1772	2		
<b>TOTALS</b>	7		
<b>Handspikes (n)</b>			
1768	200		
1772	600		
<b>Total</b>	800		
<b>Hoops (n)</b>			
1768	15,000		
1769	11,500		
1770	7,000		
1771	28,200		
1772	26,250		
<b>TOTALS</b>	87,950	<b>0.00225</b>	<b>197.88</b>
<b>Hoops - Tress (Sets)</b>			
1772	20		
<b>TOTALS</b>	20		
<b>Horses (n)</b>			
1768	33		
1769	30		
1770	47		
1771	29		
1772	18		
<b>TOTALS</b>	157	<b>15</b>	<b>2355</b>
<b>Houseframes (n)</b>			

Table 4-5 (continued)

1768	114		
1769	98		
1770	131		
1771	115		
1772	182		
<b>TOTAL</b>	640	<b>20</b>	<b>12800</b>
<b>Indian Corn (bus)</b>			
1772	270		
<b>TOTALS</b>	270	<b>0.0749</b>	<b>20.22</b>
<b>Masts (n)</b>			
1768	46		
1769	52		
<b>TOTAL</b>	98	<b>23.05</b>	<b>2258.90</b>
<b>Oak Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1770	5,000		
1771	3,000		
1772	109,000		
<b>TOTALS</b>	117,000	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>152.1</b>
<b>Oars (ft)</b>			
1768	1,300		
1769	545		
1770	1,000		
1771	600		
1772	5,159		
<b>TOTALS</b>	8,604	<b>0.00625</b>	<b>53.77</b>
<b>Oil - Fish</b>			
1768	94 g		
1769	2 t, 189 g		
1770	4 t, 87 g		

Table 4-5 (continued)

1771	3 t, 34 g		
1772	1 t, 223 g		
<b>TOTALS</b>	12.5 t	<b>15/T</b>	<b>187.50</b>
<b>Pine Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1768	2,332,750		
1769	2,554,000		
1770	3,783,300		
1771	4,527,250		
1772	4,014,844		
<b>TOTALS</b>	17,212,144	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>22375.78</b>
<b>Pork &amp; Beef (bbs)</b>			
1772	5		
<b>TOTALS</b>	5	<b>2.12/BBS</b>	<b>10.6</b>
<b>Poultry (doz)</b>			
1772	21		
<b>TOTALS</b>	21	<b>0.45</b>	<b>9.45</b>
<b>Rum - New England (g)</b>			
1772	159		
<b>TOTALS</b>	159	<b>0.062</b>	<b>9.85</b>
<b>Sheep (n)</b>			
1768	6		
1770	254		
1772	41		
<b>TOTALS</b>	301	<b>0.35</b>	<b>105.35</b>
<b>Shingles (n)</b>			
1768	2,360,000		

Table 4-5 (continued)

1769	2,308,000		
1770	2,694,000		
1771	2,032,000		
1772	3,108,000		
<b>TOTALS</b>	12,502,000	<b>0.000397</b>	<b>4963.29</b>
<b>Shoes (pairs)</b>			
1769	56		
1770	200		
1771	200		
1772	45		
<b>TOTALS</b>	501	<b>0.125</b>	<b>62.62</b>
<b>Shook Hogsheads</b>			
1768	580		
1769	474		
1770	1,210		
1771	357		
1772	524		
<b>TOTALS</b>	3,145	<b>0.125</b>	<b>393.12</b>
<b>Spars (n, iunches)</b>			
1769	3190 inches		
1771	687		
1772	295		
<b>TOTALS</b>	982		
<b>Staves (n)</b>			
1768	49,750		
1769	88,500		
1770	125,300		
1771	100,500		
1772	106,500		
<b>TOTALS</b>	470,550	<b>0.00299</b>	<b>1406.94</b>
<b>Tallow &amp; Lard (lbs)</b>			

Table 4-5 (continued)

1770	1,600		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1,600	<b>0.02</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Tar (bbs)</b>			
1771	6		
<b>TOTALS</b>	6	<b>0.3</b>	<b>1.8</b>
<b>Timber - Oak (t)</b>			
1769	3 t		
1771	25 t, 24 ft		
<b>TOTAL</b>	28 t, 24 ft	<b>.9/T</b>	<b>25.2</b>
<b>Timber - Pine (t)</b>			
1768	75 t		
1769	6 t		
1771	66 t		
<b>TOTAL</b>	147 t	<b>.4/T</b>	<b>58.8</b>
<b>Misc</b>			
1768	269 poles		
<b>Total</b>			<b>56,734.94</b>

**Note:** All commodity listings and totals are mine based on the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK. For prices, see the Rhode Island Appendix.

**Table 4-6 Exports from Falmouth to Great Britain: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Commodity</b>	<b>Quantity Exp.</b>	<b>PPU</b>	<b>(Export Note)</b>	<b>Total Value</b>
<b>Ashes - Pearl (t, cwt)</b>				
1772	4 t, 2 cwt	<b>40 L/T</b>		<b>160</b>
<b>Boards and Plank - Oak (ft, n)</b>				
1768	121,920			
1769	4,500			
1770	44,500			
1771	32,750			
1772	109,000			
<b>Total</b>	<b>312,670</b>	<b>0.0225</b>		<b>7035.08</b>
<b>Boards and Plank - Pine (ft)</b>				
1768	1,042,781			
1769	1,226,560			
1770	1,467,300			
1771	361,750			
1772	182,500			
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,280,891</b>	<b>0.0013</b>		<b>5565.16</b>
<b>Cocoa (lbs)</b>				
1771	183	<b>0.0249</b>		<b>4.56</b>
<b>Cotton (lbs)</b>				
1768	3450	<b>0.05</b>		
<b>Firewood (cords)</b>				
1771	3	<b>0.393</b>		<b>1.179</b>
<b>Fish - Dried (bbs)</b>				
1769	10	<b>0.730</b>		<b>7.3</b>
<b>Frunnels (n)</b>				

Table 4-6 (continued)

1768	51,000			
1769	1,500			
1770	5,600			
1771	10,000			
<b>Total</b>	<b>68,100</b>	<b>0.046</b>		<b>3132.6</b>
<b>Handspikes (n)</b>				
1768	644			
1769	808			
1770	1290			
1771	1182			
1772	524			
<b>Total</b>	<b>4448</b>			
<b>Horns (n)</b>				
1768	1200			
1772	550			
<b>Total</b>	<b>1750</b>			
<b>Iron - Pig</b>				
1768	40 t	<b>5/T</b>		<b>200</b>
<b>Laths (t)</b>				
1769	17			
<b>Lathwood (cords)</b>				
1768	96.5			
1769	0			
1770	3812			
1771	148			
1772	124			
<b>Total</b>	<b>4180.5</b>			

Table 4-6 (continued)

<b>Lignum Vitae (t)</b>				
1771	3 t	<b>4.49/T</b>		<b>13.47</b>
<b>Lignumite &amp; Ivory</b>				
1768	2 t	<b>4.49/T</b>		<b>8.98</b>
<b>Logwood, Fustick and Other Dyewoods</b>				
1768	2 t, 8 cwt	<b>4.49/T</b>		<b>8.98</b>
<b>Lumber - Timber - Oak and Ash</b>	(t, ft)	(n)		
1768	5109 t, 30 ft	290	<b>.9/T</b>	<b>4598.1</b>
<b>Masts, Yards, Bowspits and Spars</b>	<b>N</b>		<b>Tons</b>	
All Four Combined - 1768	360.209		80	<b>17.53</b>
Bowspits - 1769	3		178	
Bowspits - 1770			580	
Bowspits - 1771			288	
Bowspits - 1772	65			
<b>Bowspits Total</b>	<b>68</b>		<b>1046</b>	<b>5.46</b>
Masts - 1769	48		766	
Masts - 1770			1902	
Masts - 1771			1285.5	
Masts - 1772	305			
<b>Masts Total</b>	<b>353</b>		<b>3954</b>	<b>5.46</b>
Spars - 1769	420		7/8ths	
Spars - 1771	27			
Spars - 1772	181			
<b>Spars Total</b>	<b>628</b>		<b>7/8ths</b>	
Yards - 1769	65		320	



Table 4-6 (continued)

Yards - 1771			281	
Yards - 1772	451			
<b>Yards Total</b>	<b>516</b>		<b>601</b>	<b>14.53</b>
<b>Oars (ft)</b>				
1768	3,975			
1769	31,600			
1770	10,960			
1771	194,182			
1772	153,516			
<b>Total</b>	<b>394,233</b>	<b>0.00625</b>	<b>2463.95</b>	<b>2463.95</b>
<b>Oil (t, g)</b>				
1769	4 t, 63 g	<b>15 L</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>Rum (g)</b>				
1768	1700	<b>0.081</b>	<b>137.7</b>	<b>137.7</b>
<b>Spruce Poles (n)</b>				
1769	65			
1771	72			
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>			
<b>Staves and Heading (n)</b>				
1768	145,707			
1769	67,000			
1770	237,750			
1771	226,500			
1772	121,500			
<b>Total</b>	<b>798,457</b>	<b>0.00299</b>	<b>2387.38</b>	<b>2387.38</b>
<b>Shingles (n)</b>				
1768	112,000			

Table 4-6 (continued)

1770	5,000			
1772	27,000			
<b>Total</b>	<b>144,000</b>	<b>0.000397</b>	<b>57.16</b>	<b>57.16</b>
<b>Sundries</b>				
1770 - 1 Cask of Furs and Skins				
1772 - I Cask of Furs and Skins		3165 BPS	<b>3165 BPS</b>	<b>3165</b>
1772 - 200 Small poles				
<b>Tar (bbs)</b>				
1769	4	<b>0.3</b>		
<b>Timber - Maple (t, ft)</b>				
1770	668 t	<b>.4/T</b>	<b>275.2</b>	<b>275.2</b>
<b>Timber - Oak (t, ft)</b>				
1769	960 t			
1770	656 t			
1771	1223 t			
1772	1733 t			
<b>Total</b>	<b>4572 t</b>	<b>.9/T</b>	<b>4114.8</b>	<b>4114.8</b>
<b>Timber - Pine (t, ft)</b>				
1769	5013 t, 35 ft			
1770	6870 t, 30 ft			
1771	3261 t			
1772	3223 t			
<b>Total</b>	<b>18,367 t, 65 ft</b>	<b>.4/T</b>	<b>7346.8</b>	<b>7346.8</b>
<b>Timber - Walnut (t, ft)</b>				
1769	533 t	<b>.4/T</b>	<b>213.2</b>	<b>213.2</b>

**Table 4-6 (continued)**

<b>Turpentine (bbs)</b>				
1769	81			
1772	5			
<b>Total</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>34.4</b>	<b>34.4</b>
<b>Total – All Commodities</b>				<b>41,033.96</b>

**Note:** All commodity listings and totals are mine based on the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK. For prices, see the Rhode Island Appendix.

**Table 4-7 Shipbuilding in Maine: Select Years 1674 – 1753**

**I. Between 1674 – 1696**

Permaquid	1	35 Tons	35 Tons
York	2	60 Tons each	120 Tons
Kittery	1	25 Tons	
	1	40 Tons	65 Tons
<b>Totals</b>	<b>5</b>		<b>220 Tons</b>

**II. Between 1703 – 1708**

York	3		100 Tons
Kittery	1	30 Tons	
	1	40 Tons	
	10	(NA)	1,690 Tons
<b>Totals</b>	<b>15</b>		<b>1,860 Tons</b>

**III. Between 1719 – 1714**

York	3		120 Tons
Kittery	5		170 Tons
	5		265 Tons
	8		1,200 Tons
<b>Totals</b>	<b>21</b>		<b>1,755 Tons</b>

**Table 4-7 (continued)**

**IV. Year - 1753**

Falmouth	16	720 Tons
	12	565 Tons
	4	220 Tons
Other	9	490 Tons
Scarborough	1	25 Tons
	2	115 Tons
Wells	7	285 Tons
York	6	330 Tons
	2	95 Tons
<b>Totals</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>2,845 Tons</b>

**Source:** Joseph Goldenberg, *Shipbuilding in Colonial America* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 131-151.

**Note:** Falmouth includes ships listed as built in Casco Bay. "Other" is an unspecified Maine location by Goldenberg.

**Table 4-8 Value of Exports from Falmouth to All Areas: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Export Area</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
Coastal	34,498	26.0%
Great Britain	41,033	30.9%
Southern Europe	434	>1%
West Indies	56,547	42.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>132,512</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Export Area</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
Coastal - Without West Indian Products	19,171	14.4%
Coastal - West Indian Products	15,327	11.5%
Great Britain	41,033	30.9%
Southern Europe	434	>1%
West Indies	56,547	42.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>132,512</b>	<b>99.4%</b>

**Source:** Tables above for everything except Southern Europe, which is taken from James F. Shepherd, *Commodity Exports from the British North American Colonies to Overseas Areas, 1768-1772: Magnitudes and Patterns of Trade*, Paper No. 258 – October, 1969, Institute for Research in the Behavioral, Economic and Management Sciences (Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University, 1969).

## **5.0 “THE MEAT OF ALL THE SLAVES IN ALL THE WEST INDIES”<sup>1</sup>: SALEM, MARBLEHEAD, AND THE WEST INDIES**

Beginning in the seventeenth century and continuing throughout the eighteenth, fishermen from Salem and Marblehead caught most of the fish that fed the slave laborers of the Atlantic economy. West Indian plantation owners were obsessed with producing sugar and thereby imported food for their workers. Fish became “the meat of all the slaves in all the West Indies.” As this chapter will detail through the use of customs records, the vast majority of this fish arrived in ships from Salem and Marblehead. Yet the analysis of Salem and Marblehead’s trade using this source presents unique challenges because although they were, in fact, two separate towns, imperial customs officials combined these ports in their organizational framework. Both towns featured men committed to catching and selling fish. Higher grade fish, known as “merchantable,” fetched better prices and was exported across the Atlantic for consumers in Southern Europe. Lower-grade fish, called “refuse,” essentially trash fish deemed unacceptable by European standards, was sold throughout the West Indies.

Historians have noted the broader significance of the Atlantic fishing industry, but the specific importance of the West Indian markets as a trading sector in the colonial history of Salem and Marblehead has remained unexplored. At the heart of these two fishing centers were

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<sup>1</sup> Testimony of George Walker of Barbados, in *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament Respecting North America, Volume 5: 1754-1783*, eds. R.C. Simmons and P.D.G. Thomas (White Plains, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1986), 557.

the fishermen themselves, as described by Daniel Vickers.<sup>2</sup> This chapter analyzes customs records: the ship clearances, tonnages, cargoes and their values for select years between 1715 and 1757, before concentrating especially on a series of data between 1768 and 1772, for which a complete five-year run of records exists. It then analyzes the relative importance of the four major export markets: the coastal trade, Great Britain, Southern Europe, and the West Indies, to identify the importance of each for the this branch of the economies of Salem and Marblehead. This data, supplemented by other sources, reveals the centrality of the West Indian slave economy, and the fish exported there, as well as the price paid in Salem and Marblehead for sustaining this system: high mortality rates for sailors and seaports full of widows.

Early historical assessments of the Atlantic fishing industry have noted the West Indian trade but only in limited ways. James Duncan Phillips' broad historical overview, *Salem in the Eighteenth Century*, briefly mentioned fish exports to the West Indies, but offered little detail or analysis.<sup>3</sup> Drawing heavily on probate records William Bowden analyzed the commerce of Marblehead by examining the major fish merchants, a few individual voyages, and their cargoes.<sup>4</sup> Bowden, however, offered neither comprehensive analysis of export markets, including the West Indies, nor their respective monetary values. Thus, we learn much about the individual merchants and particular voyages, but not about the larger comparative systems of trade in which they operated.

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<sup>2</sup> Daniel Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen, Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1850* (Chapel Hill: University Press of North Carolina, 1994); Daniel Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea, Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). This chapter draws on Vickers' work in various ways. His focus was less about where the fish went than the men who caught them. These issues are explored later in the chapter. However, until his pathbreaking work, much of the secondary literature focused on the landed merchant class owning the fishing vessels rather than the seaborne laborers fishing from them.

<sup>3</sup> James Duncan Phillips, *Salem in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1937).

<sup>4</sup> William Bowden, "The Commerce of Marblehead, 1665-1775" *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (Volume 68), 117-146.



Two works on the history of the fisheries have noted, with varying levels of specificity, the importance of the West Indian markets, and the central place of Salem and Marblehead in supplying them. Raymond McFarland's *A History of the New England Fisheries* (1911), provided the first real overview of this industry and covered an entire region – no small achievement. Successive scholarship has confirmed McFarland's conclusion regarding the pre-eminence of Marbleheaders in the fishing industry in the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Still, McFarland relied on impressionistic sources rather than customs records, provided limited estimates of exports to Southern Europe and the West Indies, and offered no account of the relative importance of each market.<sup>6</sup>

Building on MacFarland's work, Harold A. Innis approached the importance of the West Indian markets for the development of New England's fishery more thoroughly, including its center in Salem and Marblehead. In *The Cod Fisheries* (1954) he argued that "the expansion of the New England fishery was chiefly in response to the demands of the British and Foreign West Indies," after 1731, a conclusion supported by subsequent evidence presented in this chapter.<sup>7</sup> Yet Innis, like McFarland, offered no hard quantitative data regarding exports for Salem and Marblehead because he did not use New England customs records. He also tended, as the above quote suggests, to lump all of New England together, which obscured the export differences of each port, including those in Massachusetts.

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<sup>5</sup> Raymond McFarland, *A History of the New England Fisheries, with Maps* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, agents for the University of Pennsylvania, 1911), 85. The validating scholarship includes the work of Bowden and Vickers, cited above, as well as Christopher Magra, *The Fishermen's Cause: Atlantic Commerce and the Maritime Dimensions of the American Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>6</sup> McFarland principally relied on two works for his evidence: William B. Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England*, Volume II (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1891), and William Douglass, *A Summary, Historical and Political*, Volume I (Boston, 1749).

<sup>7</sup> Harold I. Innis, *The Cod Fisheries, the History of an International Economy*, revised edition (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1954), 161.

More recently scholars have noted the importance of the West Indian trade as they have pursued other research agendas. For example, Daniel Vickers observed, “the busiest branch of Salem’s shipping industry in the eighteenth century was the provisioning trade to the plantation economies,” but he does not provide any specific data on the volume of trade for Salem or Marblehead regarding vessels, tonnage, cargoes, and values.<sup>8</sup> His goal was to illuminate the lives of mariners, which he does with great success as suggested below in my discussion of the fishermen’s labor. Christine Heyrman’s *Commerce and Culture* offered a comparative study of Marblehead and Gloucester that focused on how people in both locales reacted to the economic transformations wrought by trade, but she mentioned only briefly the significance of the West Indies and provided no substantive details.<sup>9</sup> Finally, the most recent analysis which included the West Indian connection to Salem and Marblehead, by Christopher Magra, examined how the tension between Caribbean planters and Essex County fishing merchants were factors leading to the American Revolution.<sup>10</sup> Thus, while a steady and evolving scholarship has presented the broad outlines of the importance of the fishing industry for Salem and Marblehead, noting therein importance of the West Indian markets and providing vital accounts on the laborers of this industry, the full extent of the links to the plantation complex require fuller explication.

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Fishing was at the very heart of the settlements at Salem and Marblehead from the beginning. The Dorchester Company in England sent out John White on a “fishing and trading”

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<sup>8</sup> Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea*, 72. In an earlier work, *Farmers and Fisherman*, Vickers did provide one table which included some problematic trade data I analyze later in this chapter.

<sup>9</sup> Christine Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690 -1750*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1984). As Heyrman detailed, Gloucester was another town deeply dependent upon the fishing industry.

<sup>10</sup> Magra, *The Fishermen’s Cause*.

venture which settled at Cape Ann in 1623 before moving to Salem in 1626.<sup>11</sup> Another group established a separate fishing settlement, the Marblehead Plantation, and was recognized by the Massachusetts General Court in 1631.<sup>12</sup> Salem and Marblehead would, over the next century, become the heart of the fishing industry in colonial New England.<sup>13</sup> The primary fish of this industry was cod, caught by poor fishermen with hand lines.<sup>14</sup> Investors knew that the industry required fishing boats, which varied considerably by size, as well as hooks and lines, which were fairly inexpensive and locally produced. Fish were caught and put into barrels or hogsheads (frequently the two terms were used interchangeably).

Colonists in Salem and Marblehead quickly realized how important fish was, and would be, for their economic livelihoods. As one Marblehead town petitioner observed in 1688, “fish” was the “great staple that the country produceth for foreign parts.”<sup>15</sup> In fact, the physical size of the town remained quite small as the drive for fish left few men on land to tend farms and develop the town. Josiah Cotton noted in 1704 that “the whole township is not much bigger than a large farm...and so they are forced to get their living from the sea.”<sup>16</sup>

A decade later little had changed. By 1714, the Reverend John Barnard surveyed the town and found “not so much as one proper carpenter, nor mason, nor taylor, nor butcher in the town, nor any market worth naming.”<sup>17</sup> Overall, Barnard described the town as “dismally poor in

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<sup>11</sup> William B. Weeden, *An Economic and Social History of New England, Volume 1* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1890), 13.

<sup>12</sup> William I. Davisson and Dennis J. Dugan, “Commerce in Seventeenth-Century Essex County, Massachusetts,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Volume 107 (April 1971), 115.

<sup>13</sup> Other Essex County port towns like Gloucester, Newbury and Newburyport might have sent out an occasional fishing voyage in the seventeenth century but the vast majority cleared from Salem and Marblehead. *Ibid*, 115.

<sup>14</sup> Other fish that were caught included herring (also called alewives), mackerel, hake, haddock, pollock, sturgeon and salmon. See, Douglass, *A Summary, Historical and Political*, 300-305. Davisson and Dugan, “Commerce in Seventeenth-Century Essex County, Massachusetts,” 115.

<sup>15</sup> Petition quoted in Bowden, “The Commerce of Marblehead, 1665-1775,” 119.

<sup>16</sup> Josiah Cotton quoted in Bowden, “The Commerce of Marblehead, 1665-1775,” 133.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, 121.

circumstances; involved in debt to the merchants more than they are worth...and they were generally as rude, swearing, drunken, and fighting a crew as they were poor.”<sup>18</sup> In debt to merchants, especially in Salem and Boston, the drunken, fighting fishermen of Marblehead repeatedly headed to sea – dependent on the cod fish as their “great staple” and the West Indian slave economy as a key market. Salem was the hub of fishing operations in the region until Marbleheaders began in 1717 to bypass the middlemen of Salem by sailing their own direct voyages to the West Indies, a process they continued throughout the colonial era.<sup>19</sup>

Fishing was relatively straightforward work. Fisherman baited their hooks, tossed the lines over the side, and caught fish.<sup>20</sup> From here fisherman needed to decide on the quality of the fish, and a method for curing and processing it before transferring their catches to merchants who arranged for shipment outside the colony.<sup>21</sup> One observer described the process by which “at the end of every voyage they separate the best from the worst, the first they call merchantable fish, being sound, full grown fish and well made up.”<sup>22</sup> Fishermen visually recognized when the fish was ready, since it “is known when it is clear like a Lanthorn horn and without spots.”<sup>23</sup> Having decided upon the quality, the fish was then “cured” and “processed” on land: “cleaned, split and salted” and dried on open-air wooden frames.<sup>24</sup> Weather permitting they were dried outside; “split fish were placed in wooden hogsheads or casks in a brine solution” until the weather improved. Fishermen often used “the kench cure;” a process in which they “split halves of the fish, called ‘splits’ or ‘flakes’ and dried them on the wooden staging so that the air could

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 121-122.

<sup>19</sup> Davisson and Dugan, “Commerce in Seventeenth-Century Essex County, Massachusetts,” 115.

<sup>20</sup> For an excellent overview of the fishing process see E.A. Churchill, “A Most Ordinary Lot of Men: The Fishermen at Richmond Island, Maine, in the Early Seventeenth Century,” *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 57, No. 2, (June 1984), 186-187.

<sup>21</sup> John Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New England* (London, 1674), 210

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 210.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 210.

<sup>24</sup> Davisson and Dugan, “Commerce in Seventeenth-Century Essex County, Massachusetts,” 116-117.

circulate completely around the flake. The flakes were then ready for shipment in watertight hogsheads.”<sup>25</sup> Fish judged as poor quality were handled and processed differently: “the second sort they call refuse fish, that is such as it salt burnt, spotted, rotten and carelessly ordered.”<sup>26</sup> Because fish quickly rotted in the warm climate fisherman strove to make the fish as dry as possible to avoid decomposition; “sometimes the cod was salted and placed in piled and dried prior to shipment, if no drying staging areas were available. The cod was stacked loosely to dry and shipped after the brine had drained off. This process could remove up to 70% of the moisture.”<sup>27</sup>

Throughout the colonial era the high-quality fish went to Southern Europe and the low-quality fish to the West Indies.<sup>28</sup> A seventeenth-century account noted how the high quality cod went “to Lisbon, Bilbao, Boudreaux, Marseilles, Tallon, Rochelle, and other cities of France, to the Canaries.”<sup>29</sup> An eighteenth-century observer remarked that “the nature of the cod-fish is such, that the part fit to be sent to Europe is more valuable at many of the Spanish markets than any other fish, and particularly at Bilbao.”<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Another method, favored for fish exported to Southern European markets involved cleaning, splitting and salting the fish but then packing them in brine or pickle tubs or buckets. Ibid, 116-117.

<sup>26</sup> Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New England*, 210.

<sup>27</sup> Davisson and Dugan, “Commerce in Seventeenth-Century Essex County, Massachusetts,” 116.

<sup>28</sup> Daniel Vickers states that although these were the two primary grades exported, by 1776 colonial merchants “paid different prices for not only half a dozen grades of cod but for pollock, haddock, and hake.” Daniel Vickers, “A known and staple commoditie’: Codfish Prices in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1640-1775” *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Volume 124, (July 1988), 188.

<sup>29</sup> Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New England*, 210.

<sup>30</sup> Testimony of Brook Watson, in *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament Respecting North America, Volume 5: 1754-1783*, eds. R.C. Simmons and P.D.G. Thomas (White Plains, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1986), 485. The strong demand for fish in the Catholic nations had a long history, as Brian Fagan has explored; “the traditional fasting days were Fridays and Lent, when Christians atoned for the suffering of Christ on the cross. As Christianity spread across Europe, so did the number of holy days. By the thirteenth century, fast days took up more than half the year.” See Brian Fagan, *Fish on Friday: Feasting, Fasting, and the Discovery of the New World* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), xiii.

The salt, in turn, was absolutely essential in processing fish, preserving it and preventing spoilage, and imports arrived from both Southern Europe and the West Indies.<sup>31</sup> Between 1768 and 1772 total salt importations into Massachusetts were 1,816,403 bushels valued at £90,820: 55% came from Southern Europe and 45% from the West Indies.<sup>32</sup> Overall, merchants in Massachusetts were the largest importers of salt from Southern Europe in all British North America, accounting for more than 36% of all imports.<sup>33</sup>

These exports were vital in helping the colonists pay off their debts to British merchants for the manufactured goods they imported. One contemporary described the process whereby “in payment of the fish” local merchants were able to send “bills of exchange returned to the merchants of London in payment for British manufactures sent by them to North America, and some little of the proceeds of the fish is returned in salt.”<sup>34</sup> The profits from the Southern European market were vital in helping to offset the substantial debts colonists from Salem and Marblehead, who, like their counterparts across Massachusetts, New England, and British North America generally, continued to generate throughout the entire colonial era.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Fish were salted several times in an effort to maintain preservation. For the importance of salt, see E.B. Tustin, Jr., “The Story of Salt in New England,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Volume 85 (1949), 259-271, especially 264-265.

<sup>32</sup> Salt importation figures for the West Indies are my calculations based on Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK., but those from Southern Europe are derived from James F. Shepherd, *Commodity Imports into the British North American Colonies from Southern Europe and the West Indies, 1768-1772, Paper No. 270 – February 1970, Institute for Research in the Behavioral, Economic and Management Sciences* (Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University, 1970), Table 1, page 4. The value of salt is my calculation based on the pricing data supplied by Shepherd on page 18.

<sup>33</sup> My totals and percentages based on the data in Shepherd, *Commodity Imports*, Table 1, pages 3-8.

<sup>34</sup> Testimony of Brook Watson, in *Proceedings and Debates*, 484. James G. Lydon has exhaustively documented this in several articles: “Fish and Flour for Gold: Southern Europe and the Colonial American Balance of Payments,” *The Business History Review*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Summer 1965), 171-183, and “Fish for Gold: The Massachusetts Fish Trade with Iberia, 1700-1773,” *New England Quarterly*, Volume 54, Issue 4 (December, 1981), 539-582.

<sup>35</sup> In 1771, for example, the value of English imports into New England was valued at £824,830 but the value of exports from New England to England was only worth £126,265. New Englanders never ran a surplus with England. See “An Account of the Value of Exports and Imports to and from North America and England from Christmas 1739 to Christmas 1773, distinguishing each Colony and Year and British Goods, Wares and Merchandize from Foreign,” CO 5.1/1, in *American Papers in the House of Lords Record Office, 1621-1917*, Reel 23, 1775, Part 2, Microfilm Collection. Total import/export data values corresponding to trade between England and New England is

While high-grade cod went eastward across the Atlantic, low-grade cod was shipped south to “the Caribbean islands, Barbados, Jamaica, etc. who feed their Negroes with it.”<sup>36</sup> This pattern continued into the eighteenth century. Responding to a Parliamentary inquiry in 1775, George Walker of Barbados identified that “the common food of the negroes in the Leeward Islands...in all the islands it is salt fish and Indian corn.”<sup>37</sup> A Jamaican planter who operated on the island “at different periods from 1754 to 1773” reported that “the great quantities of salted fish, which, with herrings from Europe, serve the negroes as meat.”<sup>38</sup> Although slaves ate a variety of imported food from North America, including fish, to augment their domestically grown food stocks, there was never a sufficient amount to provide adequate sustenance.<sup>39</sup>

Overall, fish imports were part of a larger pattern of food importation which supplied about one quarter of the daily consumption of slaves.<sup>40</sup> Fish became an important food source, particularly for protein. The amount slaves might consume varied widely across the islands over

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only available for the region as a whole and not by individual colony or port before 1768. Note that the values used in this document were constant values, not current values, since they were not adjusted for inflation. For details, see John McCusker, “Colonial Statistics,” in *Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to the Present*, Volume 5, Susan B. Carter, et al. eds. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 5-713.

<sup>36</sup> Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New England*, 210-211.

<sup>37</sup> Testimony of George Walker, in *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament Respecting North America, Volume 5: 1754-1783*, eds. R.C. Simmons and P.D.G. Thomas (White Plains, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1986), 564. The Barbadian sugar planter Henry Drax had a high opinion of corn; “it being very good food for the Negroes.” See William Belgrove, *A Treatise upon Husbandry or Planting* (Boston, 1755), 84. Between 1768 and 1772, Virginia was the largest supplier of Indian corn to the West Indies. For quantities see James F. Shepherd, *Commodity Exports*, Table 4, pages 40-52, but especially page 48, for Virginia export totals. For further details, see David C. Klingaman, *Colonial Virginia’s Coastwise and Grain Trade* (New York: Arno Press, 1975) and Peter V. Bergstrom, *Markets and Merchants, Economic Diversification in Colonial Virginia, 1700-1775* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985).

<sup>38</sup> Testimony of John Ellis, in *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament Respecting North America, Volume 5: 1754-1783*, eds. R.C. Simmons and P.D.G. Thomas (White Plains, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1986), 565-566. The herrings came from Scotland. See J.R. Ward, *British West Indian Slavery, 1750-1834, The Process of Amelioration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 105.

<sup>39</sup> Ward, *British West Indian Slavery*, 20-27.

<sup>40</sup> This is the conclusion drawn using customs records for Barbados and Jamaica by Richard Bean in his “Food Imports into the British West Indies: 1680-1845,” *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Volume 292 (June 27, 1977), 586.

time, and even within different plantations in a single island.<sup>41</sup> One estimate is that perhaps thirty pounds was annually imported per slave.<sup>42</sup> This was far less than Henry Drax of Jamaica instructed his plantation manager, Archibald Johnson to supply “for the enabling Negroes to go through their work with Chearfulness.”<sup>43</sup> Drax insisted that “every Negro must have weekly, one pound fish or mackerel. Overseers and head-boilers must have double that allowance.”<sup>44</sup> However, neither the fish, nor the other imported food stocks, like corn, amounted to nearly enough basic nutritional requirements, leading to “chronic malnourishment.”<sup>45</sup> Another contributing problem, besides the insufficient amounts of fish imported, was the low nutrient quality of the fish itself – evoked by its name “refuse or trash” fish. Thus, enslaved Africans working the plantation complex were never given enough basic protein, despite weekly fish rations, and those rations were poor quality.

While ships from Salem and Marblehead consistently carried refuse fish to the West Indies, those at the helm, like their counterparts across New England, also notoriously ignored the mercantilist stipulations of the Navigation Acts by selling fish directly across the “foreign” West Indies, bringing back in this illicit trade sugar, molasses and rum.<sup>46</sup> Fearing that New

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<sup>41</sup> Ward, *British West Indian Slavery*, 21. Jamaican planters, for example, took advantage of the topography and size of the island to grow a considerable amount of food in comparison with the smaller Leeward Islands. See Verene A. Shepherd, “Livestock and Sugar: Aspects of Jamaica’s Agricultural Development from the Late Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century,” in *Caribbean Slavery in the Atlantic World*, eds. Verene Shepherd and Hilary McD. Beckles (Princeton: Marcus Wiener Publishers, 2000), 255; Sidney Mintz and Douglass Hall, “The Origins of the Jamaican Internal Marketing System,” in *Caribbean Slavery in the Atlantic World*, eds. Verene Shepherd and Hilary McD. Beckles (Princeton: Marcus Wiener Publishers, 2000), 758-773.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, 21.

<sup>43</sup> “Instructions...,” in William Belgrave, *A Treatise Upon Husbandry or Planting*, (Boston: New England, D. Fowle, 1755), 66.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, 66.

<sup>45</sup> Ward discusses the issue of food throughout *British West Indian Slavery*, and the quote is from page 105. In addition, Ward emphasizes that although fish was a part of food stocks, “slave diet consisted mainly of grains and vegetables.” Ward, 108. Richard Bean provided a list of imported food into Barbados and Jamaica in his article, “Food Imports into the British West Indies: 1680-1845,” and also discusses the issue of nutrition for slaves.

<sup>46</sup> This process is described in great detail throughout Frank Wesley Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917).



England exports, including fish, aided growing French, Danish, Dutch and Spanish sugar plantations, the British West Indian planters managed to lobby for the successful passage of the Molasses Act in 1733.<sup>47</sup> This raised a prohibitive duty (tax) on any colonial importation of sugar, molasses or rum.<sup>48</sup> However, lack of enforcement negated any noticeable impact until after the Seven Years War ended in 1763, when a dire need to raise revenue to offset the massive debt incurred fighting the war and a tightening customs enforcement, led to the passage of a new Sugar Act in 1764.<sup>49</sup> The legislation completely banned the importation of foreign rum, and once again the issue of New Englanders trading fish and other supplies to the foreign West Indies for rum erupted in debates over the scope of the proposed bill.<sup>50</sup> By the mid 1760s the French West Indian islands in particular were expanding rapidly and selling higher quality sugar and molasses for less than their British counterparts. They found ready buyers from Salem, Marblehead, and other New England ports.<sup>51</sup>

Investors in the fish business in Salem and Marblehead aired their concerns in hopes of blocking the Sugar Act and pleaded for the right to sell fish throughout the West Indies. In 1764, a Boston pamphleteer proclaimed that the British West Indian islands “take off about one third

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<sup>47</sup> For more on the passage of this Act, see Albert B. Southwick, “The Molasses Act – Source of Precedents,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol.8, No.3 (July 1951), 389-405.

<sup>48</sup> Richard Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775* (The Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 1973), 354-355.

<sup>49</sup> British debt levels were at staggering levels. At the start of the Seven Years War in 1754 British debt totaled £74,600,000 and by the end in 1763 was up to £132,600,000. See John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), Table 2.1, page 30. For background on the Sugar Act, see Allen S. Johnson, “The Passage of the Sugar Act,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol.16, No.4 (October 1959), 507-514, and, for the broader context, I.R. Christie, *Crisis of Empire, Great Britain and the American Colonies, 1754-1783* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1966), 39-54; Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War, The Seven Years’ War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 555-746, but especially pages 572-580, and Andrew Jackson O’Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided, The American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 62-72.

<sup>50</sup> Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, 354-355. In 1766 the duty on foreign molasses was actually lowered from six pence to three pence, but the ban on foreign rum imports remained.

<sup>51</sup> Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery, from the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (New York: Verso, 1997), 431-451.

our west India cod fish, and not more than one quarter of the mackerel and other small fish,” and the rest went to the French West Indies.<sup>52</sup> This same author noted that although some “vessels” went “directly” to Surinam or Jamaica, most followed a pattern which began with a “call at Barbados to try the market” before heading to “Antigua, Nevis and St. Kitts and in case they meet with a tolerable market at either of those islands, they always embrace it; if not they proceed, some to Jamaica, others to St. Eustatia, and the other foreign islands.”<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, the Act was passed and the fishing business expanded despite the dire warnings issued by locals in Massachusetts. More men, not fewer, took to the sea to catch even more fish to feed the expanding slave economies of both the “British” and “Foreign” Caribbean.<sup>54</sup>

For the fishermen employed to find cod, in whatever grade, or other fish, the job was one of drudgery and low pay. Cotton Mather found that “*Fisher-men* are generally among the *Poor of this world*; They are *Brethren of Low Degree*; Others often get more *by them*, than they get *for themselves*.”<sup>55</sup> Subsequent scholarship by Daniel Vickers has proven just how apt Mather was about the exploitation fisherman endured by others. Vickers demonstrated that “colonial fisherman were the poorest of New Englanders who rarely owned their vessels, lived in small cottages and possessed little beyond their clothes, fish lines and perhaps a few modest pieces of furniture.”<sup>56</sup> They sailed far and wide in the North American Atlantic searching for cod, and

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<sup>52</sup> Anonymous, *Reasons Against the Renewal of the Sugar Act, As it will be prejudicial to the Trade, Not Only Of the Northern Colonies, But To That Of Great Britain Also* (Boston 1764), 5-6.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 18.

<sup>54</sup> See the totals in Table 6 for fish exported to the West Indies in 1757 compared to Table 13 for fish exported to the West Indies between 1768 and 1772. This expansion was at least partially fueled by the British acquisition of the “ceded islands” of Tobago, Trinidad, Grenada, St. Vincent and Dominica following the end of the Seven Years War in 1763. See Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, 452-459.

<sup>55</sup> Cotton Mather, *The Fisher-mans Calling* (Boston 1712), 2.

<sup>56</sup> Vickers, “‘A knowen and staple commoditie’: Codfish Prices in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1640-1775,” 186.

were paid based on a “share” of what they caught. Fishermen were at the mercy of market prices, directly linked to wider Atlantic events beyond their control.<sup>57</sup>

Vickers’ careful work on price data for fish reveals a pattern for “both spring merchantable and refuse codfish between 1650 and 1775...that was common to the entire North Atlantic economy.”<sup>58</sup> In West Indian markets, “there was a rough correlation between the price patterns for refuse fish and West Indian sugar.”<sup>59</sup> They both tended to rise and fall together. Perhaps unsurprisingly, such price fluctuations were heavily influenced by the impact of the imperial wars between France and England, in which the Atlantic was a major war zone and thus affected the availability of fish for any market. There were “four cycles of decline and recovery, largely structured by war.”<sup>60</sup> In the midst of warfare and erratic price swings, fishermen had to make their catches, and hope for the best in the market. At the mercy of larger external forces, fishermen were equally pressed at home by more a more intimate oppression from merchants.

The costs of provisioning a fishing voyage, even repairing or outfitting a new vessel, required capital beyond most men casting a line. They turned to merchants, who provided credit, but while some were able to repay their “loans” and even accumulate some property, these men were few in number compared to the majority who remained forever in debt.<sup>61</sup> The broader economic expansion after 1745, especially in the West Indies, helped to raise prices considerably for “refuse fish,” especially between 1768 and 1775, even when merchantable fish prices remained basically unchanged yet the fishermen remained mostly poor.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea*, 196.

<sup>58</sup> Vickers, “‘A knowen and staple commoditie’: Codfish Prices in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1640-1775,” 189-190.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 189-190.

<sup>60</sup> The four cycles ran from 1650-1695, 1695-1710, 1710-1745, 1745-1775. *Ibid.*, 193.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 196.

<sup>62</sup> For the West Indian expansion after 1745 see Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 401-456; John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North

Although everyone in Salem was wedded to the sea, not everyone shared equally in its bounty. Salem's tax records show that in absolute terms there was marked inequality between 1759 and 1777 and no real significant change between these years. The upper 10% maintained their hold on 82% of the personal estate, the middle 30% grew slightly from 14% to 16%, while the lowest 60% held only 3%.<sup>63</sup> Real estate records also illustrate this disparity. Between 1759 and 1777, the lowest 30% lost what little they held (2.1% at best in 1769 and .2% by 1777) the middle 60% dropped 4% and the upper 10% increased their share by almost 10%.<sup>64</sup> Overall, the sixty-five wealthiest taxpayers increased their holding of the town's assessed total wealth from 60.5% in 1759 to 67.1% in 1777.<sup>65</sup> Morris refers to this wealth holding group as "a stable elite."<sup>66</sup>

Marblehead, like Salem, was a maritime town dependent upon the fisheries experiencing simultaneous growth and inequality. By the middle of the eighteenth century, despite the expansion of the fisheries, "most remained poor."<sup>67</sup> In 1712, Cotton Mather perceptively observed that although "our fishermen make a very numerous tribe...(they) are generally among the Poor of this world...Others often get more by them, that they get for themselves."<sup>68</sup> In 1715

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Carolina, 1991), 144-168; and Richard Sheridan *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973). For merchantable and refuse fish price comparisons see Vickers, "'A known and staple commoditie': Codfish Prices in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1640-1775," Table 1, p. 202, and for the continued poverty of most fishermen, see Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea*, 158-159.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, Table 1 and pages 92-93, though my analysis differs from Morris' in that he believes the minor changes in the lower 30% group gaining between 1759, when they held .2%, and 1769, when they held 1.3%, represents a shift more significant than I do, especially since by 1777 they held 0%. In a subsequent publication (see footnote 65 below) Morris would admit that "the wealthiest taxpayer's share of the town's real and estate property remained quite stable."

<sup>64</sup> Morris, Table II, page 95 and his discussion on pages 95-96. Though again I find less to celebrate about any "growth" in the fortunes of the poor and middling sort in Salem than Morris does.

<sup>65</sup> Robert Morris, "Redefining the Economic Elite in Salem, Massachusetts, 1759-1799: A Tale of Evolution not Revolution," *New England Quarterly*, Volume 73, No. 4, (December 2000), 606.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, 611.

<sup>67</sup> Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture*, 340.

<sup>68</sup> Cotton Mather, *The Fisher-mans Calling* (Boston, 1712), i.-2.

the top 10% possessed over 46% of the wealth and by 1770 they had accelerated their holdings to over 61%.<sup>69</sup> The transfer of wealth came from the bottom 60% who lost significant ground. This pattern of growing inequality was repeated in at least two other nearby port towns: Gloucester, the third most significant fishing port in Essex County, and Newburyport, a shipbuilding and lumber exporting town situated on the Merrimack River at its entryway into the Atlantic.<sup>70</sup> According to Benjamin W. Labaree, the pattern found in Salem and Marblehead was part of a larger phenomenon across coastal New England; “at the time of the American Revolution most of the small seaports along the New England coast were dominated by a merchant aristocracy.”<sup>71</sup>

By 1765, Salem and Marblehead shared more than just an unequal distribution of wealth. They were nearly equal in terms of population, number of families, and houses built. Salem had 509 houses and 923 families.<sup>72</sup> The population was 4,254, of which 1,869 were boys and girls under the age of sixteen, approximately 44% of the town’s population. In Marblehead, there were 519 houses and 935 families. Of the total population of 4,854, slightly more than 45% were under the age of 16: 2,220 boys and girls in all. There was also a small African-American population of one hundred and seventy three listed in Salem and one hundred in Marblehead.<sup>73</sup>

Overall, Marblehead had the largest population in Essex County by 1765, accounting for 11% of the total population in the county. One out of every five people in Essex County lived in either Marblehead or Salem by 1765. Eleven years later Salem’s population had grown to 5,337

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid, 415-416.

<sup>70</sup> Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture*, 415-416, for Gloucester. For Newburyport, see Benjamin W. Labaree, *Patriots and Partisans, The Merchants of Newburyport, 1764-1815* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1962), 1-41.

<sup>71</sup> Labaree, *Patriots and Partisans*, 1.

<sup>72</sup> Massachusetts Census 1763-1765, reprinted in *Collections of the American Statistical Association, Volume I: Part II, Containing Statistics of Population in Massachusetts*, prepared by Joseph B. Felt, (Boston: T.R. Marvin, 1847), 149.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, 211.

while Marblehead's stood at 4,386.<sup>74</sup> Despite the growth in other Essex County port towns like Gloucester, Newbury, and Newburyport, nearly one out of every five people in the county still resided in Salem and Marblehead.<sup>75</sup>

As the population increased in Salem and Marblehead so did the vessels clearing their docks. Through the course of the colonial period Salem shipwrights built larger and larger vessels for the West Indian trade, from an average of 35 tons before 1740 to between 60 and 100 tons or more after 1750.<sup>76</sup> One particular ship-type was favored after 1765 than all others: the two-masted schooner, which combined power and maneuverability, and could function as a fishing or cargo carrier. They were so popular that by 1765 almost 60% of all vessels clearing Salem's customhouse were of this design.<sup>77</sup> Between the 1680s and the 1770s Salem's merchant fleet doubled the number of vessels, from 50 to 110, and quadrupled in tonnage, rising from 1,500 to 6,000 tons.<sup>78</sup>

The maritime sector continued to employ the majority of young men in Salem and Marblehead. By 1771, more than three quarters of the men in Salem, nearly 900 males between the ages of fifteen and forty five, were employed in the maritime sector.<sup>79</sup> Ship crews were overwhelmingly local, with two-thirds born in Salem or neighboring Beverly and 80% living in either town.<sup>80</sup> Sometimes crew members were from the same family.<sup>81</sup> Even those not directly from Salem or Beverly were often from other parts of New England.<sup>82</sup> About one in five were

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid, 158. African-Americans were not included in the Census of 1776.

<sup>75</sup> This is my estimate based on the Massachusetts Census data cited above.

<sup>76</sup> Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea*, 74.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 76.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, 76.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, 76-77. This pattern existed in Marblehead as well. See Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture*, 330-365.

<sup>80</sup> Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea*, 77.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, 77.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 123.

transients, though most came from Massachusetts and only a few hailed from outside the Bay Colony.<sup>83</sup>

Fishermen who sustained the plantation complex, like all those venturing off-shore, worked in dangerous conditions at sea, where unpredictable weather changes often tested the very limits of men and ships. The *Hawk*, for example, on a return voyage from Gibraltar bound for Boston in November 1741 encountered “a smart gale of wind” which blew so hard and loud that crewman noted “we scarce could hear one another.”<sup>84</sup> Worse, water was pouring into the ship: “our vessel is half full of water,” a sailor warned. Moving quickly, “all hands turned out, went to work, and got to bailing out with all the buckets” in a grinding non-stop process that lasted, uninterrupted, for twenty-four hours before finally ending as the vessel escaped danger.<sup>85</sup> The men of the *Hawk* had been lucky waiting out a “hard gale” and working hard “bailing water” for a full day. Countless crews endured such trials and took such risks every time they headed to sea, some with more fatal consequences than the *Hawk*. For example, a “brigantine” ship returning from Alicante, Spain and bound for Marblehead was caught in “very stormy and foggy” weather which resulted in the entire seven men crew begin washed into the sea off Salisbury in coastal Massachusetts.<sup>86</sup> Four unnamed sailors “narrowly escaped with their lives,” but Captain Studely and first mate Cornel, who hailed from Beverly, and three other unnamed sailors drowned in the Atlantic’s icy waters.<sup>87</sup>

Any loss of life at sea was heartbreaking for those left behind on shore, but sometimes the tragedy expanded beyond a single vessel. During one two year period between January 1768

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid, 123-4.

<sup>84</sup> Philip Chadwick Foster Smith, ed., *The Journals of Ashley Bowen (1728-1813) of Marblehead, Volume 1*, (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1973), 12. Hereafter cited as Bowen, *Journals*.

<sup>85</sup> Bowen, *Journals*, 12.

<sup>86</sup> *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, March 8-15, 1739.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

and January 1770, the citizens of Marblehead experienced death on a larger scale as a series of storms claimed many lives at sea.<sup>88</sup> In all, the Governor of Massachusetts lamented, “twenty-four sail of fishing and merchant vessels” and “one hundred and seventy men and boys have perished.” At home, the results were that “seventy women are left widows, with one hundred and fifty fatherless children, and many parents deprived of the earnings of their sons which was their chief support.” The resulting economic fortunes of these survivors was dire: “many families since these unfortunate shipwrecks have had scarce any other subsistence than what has come from the bounty of their charitable friends and neighbors.” For assistance in these matters five of the most prominent merchants in Marblehead - Jeremiah Lee, Josua Orne, John Gallison, Benjamin Marston and Isaac Mansfield – formed “a Committee of the town of Marblehead.” They appealed to the General Court of Massachusetts. Governor Thomas Hutchinson asked for “the good people of this province” to donate and thus ease the conditions of those in Marblehead.

Although most men in the port towns of Salem and Marblehead were dependent upon the maritime economy, which included shipbuilding, sailing, and fishing, so were the women who they left behind, who often ended up as widows. Besides being in charge of the “domestic economy” – washing clothes, preparing food, raising children, sewing, gardening, mentoring, teaching – women were “in wholesale dependence on the commercial economy in which their husbands earned their wages and sold their ventures.”<sup>89</sup> With the high mortality rates, Salem and Marblehead were like many port towns in New England, full of widows.<sup>90</sup> In Salem there were

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<sup>88</sup> Thomas Hutchinson, *A Brief* (Boston, 1770). All of the quotes in this paragraph are from this source.

<sup>89</sup> Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea*, 148.

<sup>90</sup> Elaine Forman Crane, *Ebb Tide in New England: Women, Seaports and Social Change 1630-1800* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), especially pages 9-20. Lisa Norling, *Captain Ahab Had A Wife: New England Women and the Whalefishery, 1720-1870* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2000), 1- 82, discusses these issues for the wives of whalers. Many women were “warned out” of these New England towns, forced to become part of a large number of “the strolling poor,” often bringing their children along. See Douglas Lamar Jones, “The Strolling Poor: Transiency in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts,” *Journal of Social History*, Volume 8, Issue 3



twice as many as in the rural countryside and once women became widows the majority remained so for the rest of their lives; “eighty percent of those who lost their husbands between the ages of thirty-five and forty-nine remained widows.”<sup>91</sup> Most often this reduced them to poverty as the “the overwhelming majority of widows owned no assessable property and were never listed on tax rolls.”<sup>92</sup> These women sent their sons to sea in record numbers; 63% of all teenage mariners came from this group. Beyond risking their own lives, whatever these sons gave back to their mothers was not enough to up from the very bottom level of society. Yet to the sea went. We now turn to estimating how much they caught to feed the expanding slave populations working the plantations.

The amount and direction of the “great staple” first clearly emerges in the 1715 customs record. Analysis reveals that Marblehead fishermen, who we recall, had failed to impress Reverend Barnard, supplied an impressive amount of fish to merchants in Salem for export, but less than present estimates suggest.<sup>93</sup> Customs records detail that eighty-two ships cleared outward from Salem in 1715, totaling 4,504 registered tons.<sup>94</sup> Thirty-eight voyages, or 46% of all clearances, went to Southern European ports (Tables 5.1 & 5.2). Of this group more than 39%, fifteen ships in total, went to Bilbao, Spain, accounting for almost one-third of all the tonnage bound for Southern Europe. Overall, more than 63% of all outward tonnage - 2,849 tons

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(Spring 1975), 28-54, and more recently, Ruth Wallis Herndon, *Unwelcome Americans: Living on the Margin in Early New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

<sup>91</sup> Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea*, 149-151. In 1754, widows constituted twelve percent of Salem’s population. See Crane, *Ebb Tide in New England*, 15.

<sup>92</sup> Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea*, 152.

<sup>93</sup> The next couple of paragraphs provide the details in support of my claim.

<sup>94</sup> Tonnage listed in customs records was registered tonnage. For details, see John McCusker, *Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 43-75.

in all, went to ports in Southern Europe. The cargo holds of these ships were loaded with 58,199 quintals of fish, valued at £46,268<sup>95</sup> (Table 5.3).

By comparison, thirty-three ships, accounting for 40% of all clearances outward, registering 1,272 tons, or more than 28% of all tonnage, went to the West Indies, though they held small amounts of fish in their holds. Available data reveals that these ships carried 6,288 quintals of fish valued at £3,018.<sup>96</sup> In addition to fish, the cargos consisted of pine board and plank, staves and heading, shingles, whale oil, cider, and horses.<sup>97</sup> West Indian bound vessels favored Barbados above all other ports in the region; over sixty-three percent of all ships went there, 836 registered tons accounting for more than 65% of all the tonnage to the West Indies. There were also six voyages to Antigua, two to Jamaica, one to Dutch Surinam, and three to unspecified West Indian ports.

The next year, in 1716, seventy-four ships cleared outward, totaling 4,352 registered tons. Forty-four of those ships, accounting for over 59% of all clearances and totaling 3,463 tons, were loaded with 58,391 quintals of fish valued at £31,501<sup>98</sup> (Table 5.3). All of this higher grade cod fish was sent to ports in Southern Europe or the Wine Islands. The export figures for fish in 1716

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<sup>95</sup> There seems to be some disagreement over how much a quintal weighed. John McCusker claims that historians, including Daniel Vickers, have misunderstood colonial weights and so the commonly used equivalent figures of one quintal equaling 112 pounds is incorrect. Instead, McCusker asserts that one quintal equaled 100 pounds. Given the very large amounts exported over the whole colonial era, this discrepancy has important repercussions. See John McCusker, *Colonial Statistics*, 5-701. Peter Pope, an expert on the fishing industry, disagrees with McCusker, and he and others like Vickers and Magra have continued to use the formula of one quintal equaling 112 pounds. See Peter Pope, *Fish into Wine, The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 442.

<sup>96</sup> Export totals are based on my calculations found in the Massachusetts NOSL, CO 5/849, London, PRO, TNA, London, England. Although fish exported to the West Indies were sent in hogsheads I converted these amounts into quintals using the method detailed in Table 6. Of the 593 hogsheads of fish exported from Salem, all but 10 were sent to the West Indies. For some unspecified reason the Naval Officer for Salem only recorded the quantities of fish exported to non-European ports for the full year of 1715 and the first quarter of 1716, thus limiting my discussion of quantities and values of West Indian fish exports to only 1715.

<sup>97</sup> Cargo listings for various ships can be found in the "Clearances from Salem, 1715," in the Massachusetts NOSL, CO 5/849, London, PRO, TNA, London, England.

<sup>98</sup> The lower value in fish is due to lower fish prices. See Vickers, "'A known and staple commoditie': Codfish Prices in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1640-1775," Table 1, 198-202.

are substantially less, about 50% lower, than most present estimates have claimed.<sup>99</sup> Roughly half as many ships headed for the West Indies in 1716 as had the year before, for reasons that remain unclear. Eight of the seventeen ships to this area went to Barbados, the single most frequented destination. The registered tonnage to Barbados was 671 tons, over 58% of all tonnage. Other ships headed to ports in Antigua, Jamaica, and St. Christopher (St. Kitts). In both years more than three quarters of all the ships left Salem for the West Indies in the six months between June 24 and December 24 (Tables 5.1 & 5.2).

However, as the plantation economy expanded in the West Indies around the middle of the eighteenth century, increased demand for fish helped to drive an expansion of the fisheries to supply the islands' labor force. Despite the outbreak of the Seven Years War in 1754, between October 11, 1756 and October 11, 1757, 233 ships braved the wartime Atlantic and cleared out from Salem and Marblehead. One hundred traveled to the West Indies, seventy made for ports along British North America, and sixty-three made trans-Atlantic voyages for Southern Europe.<sup>100</sup> This was three times the number that had cleared in 1715-1716. Registered tonnage figures also show a marked increase: 12,988 tons in all, with 5,707 tons to the West Indies, 4,274 tons to Europe, and 3,007 tons to British North America.

Along with greater clearances and tonnage during this time-span in 1756-1757, there was a corresponding increase in fish exports, which totaled 142,928 quintals (Table 5.10). This was an increase of 240% over the total in 1715 and 1716 (Table 5.16). Fish exports were worth

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<sup>99</sup> Daniel Vickers claims 120,000 quintals were exported in 1716, in *Farmers and Fishermen*, Table 4, page 154. Vickers apparently is quoting a report from a colonial governor, though his footnote does not provide year to year citations. Vickers did not use the customs records to derive his total. James G. Lydon has, and his export figures for 1715 and 1716 from Salem are nearly identical with mine, though he does not offer any value estimates as I have here. See Lydon, "Fish for Gold: The Massachusetts Fish Trade with Iberia, 1700-1773," Table 2, page 544.

<sup>100</sup> These are my conclusions based on the data I analyzed in the Massachusetts NOSL, CO 5/851, London, PRO, TNA, London, England. Except for one clearance to Great Britain and Ireland, all the trans-Atlantic voyages were to Southern European ports.

£65,004, with over seventy-eight percent of the value derived from the 93,312 quintals of merchantable fish, nearly all sent to Southern European ports. Another 49,768 quintals were on board ships to the West Indies, and were valued at £13,686. Finally, a very small amount, 849 quintals worth £463, were part of cargoes going to Philadelphia, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

Towards the end of the war, as the British established naval supremacy in the Atlantic by the start of 1760, Salem shipwrights worked furiously and the fishing fleet expanded enormously.<sup>101</sup> By 1765 at least fifty-three vessels were operating from Salem alone by that year.<sup>102</sup> Some were new and others were converted small vessels, likely intra-colony coasters, into fishing vessels.<sup>103</sup> This growth was part of a larger overall expansion of the fishing fleet. One estimate concluded that by 1764 there were “three hundred cod vessels, of fifty ton each.”<sup>104</sup> Another report suggested that between 1765 and 1775 the annual number of vessels involved in the cod fishery was 665, with a total tonnage of 25,630 tons.<sup>105</sup> According to this report Marblehead had 150 vessels totaling 7,500 tons, the single largest fleet in New England.<sup>106</sup> The expanding fleet allowed for greater fish exports to the West Indies as the slave economy expanded production across the region.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 385-390, discusses how and why the British achieved naval supremacy.

<sup>102</sup> Morris, “Wealth Distribution in Salem, Massachusetts, 1759-1799: The Impact of the Revolution and Independence,” 97-98.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 97-98. Morris, however, does not speculate that the boats were intra-colony coasters as I have here.

<sup>104</sup> Testimony of Brook Watson in *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament Respecting North America, Volume 5: 1754-1783*, eds. R.C. Simmons and P.D.G. Thomas (Kraus International Publications: White Plains, New York 1986), 481-482.

<sup>105</sup> The report entitled ‘State of Cod-Fishery of Massachusetts, from 1765 to 1775,’ in “Report of the Secretary of State on the Subject of the Cod and Whale Fisheries,” in *American State Papers: Commerce and Navigation*, Volume 1: Report No. 13 (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832).

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> For the British West Indian expansion, see John J. McCusker, “The Economy of the British West Indies, 1763-1790: Growth, Stagnation, or Decline,” in McCusker, *Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic World*, 329-330, who documents how the period between 1763 and 1775 was a “time of prosperity.” For the expansion across the wider West Indian region, see Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 401-456.

Between 1768 and 1772 over 44% of all the voyages made from Salem and Marblehead were to the West Indies, the single largest destination (Table 5.12). The coastal trade was the next largest export zone: nearly 39% of all voyages clearing from Salem and Marblehead were to other ports in British North America, with a heavy concentration toward the southern slave colonies. Measured alone, Virginia was the third largest destination overall, accounting for more than 12% of all voyages. Finally, Southern Europe represented almost 17% of all voyages: 283 voyages in all were made for ports there.<sup>108</sup>

Of the six hundred and forty-five coastal voyages, nearly three-quarters, four hundred and seventy in all, were headed for the southern slave colonies. After Virginia, vessels bound for southern colonies headed to Maryland most often; one hundred and eleven voyages or almost 7% of all overall voyages and 17% of all coastal voyages. In addition, there were seventy-three voyages to North Carolina, sixty-seven to South Carolina, and nine to Georgia.<sup>109</sup> Canadian destinations accounted for 5.5% overall, with all but six of the ninety-two voyages headed to either Newfoundland or Nova Scotia. Unlike the other New England ports, few ships clearing from Salem and Marblehead participated in the intra-New England trade.<sup>110</sup> Only sixteen voyages, accounting for less than 1% of all voyages were made: ten to New Hampshire, and three each to Connecticut and Rhode Island.

Outward tonnage figures largely mirror the ship voyages, with the West Indies leading all others (Table 5.13). Of the 89,269 tons clearing out, over 46%, 41,341 tons overall, were destined for the Caribbean. Some 20,038 tons went to Southern Europe, accounting for 22%

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<sup>108</sup> There were no voyages directly to either Africa or Ireland and only four to Great Britain, with a total tonnage of 435 tons. Only two ships, a 40 ton vessel in 1768 and a 30 ton vessel in 1770, were recorded heading to Bermuda.

<sup>109</sup> There were none to the Floridas.

<sup>110</sup> Comparatively, Salem and Marblehead had the lowest number of vessels clearing for the intra-New England trade. However, intra-colonial voyages were not recorded but as the Boston chapter makes clear, a sizable amount of ship traffic existed between Salem and Marblehead and Boston.

overall, and 8,395 tons to Virginia, representing 10%. Regionally, the West Indies was first, followed by coastwise destinations in the southern colonies, and then Southern Europe. Of the 19,450 tons headed for ports along the American coast, over 70% was bound for the southern slave colonies with Virginia comprising 43%, Maryland 23%, North Carolina 15%, South Carolina 15% and Georgia about 3%.<sup>111</sup> The remaining coastal tonnage was rather small, with Canadian ports accounting for less than 5% and the Middle Colonies less than 4%. Intra-New England tonnage was also quite small, with 352 tons to New Hampshire, ninety-five to Rhode Island and sixty-two to Connecticut.

Having examined the voyages and tonnages which revealed the importance of the West Indies, the next step is to analyze the cargos and their respective values, which reveal some modifications to the patterns thus far. The total value of all exports from Salem and Marblehead between 1768 and 1772 was £795,639 (Table 5.15). Of this, exports to Southern Europe accounted for the largest amount, £393,365 or over 49% of the total value.<sup>112</sup> Despite shipping some thirty-nine different commodities, exports were dominated by one in particular: fish (Table 5.14). Fish exports were 96% of the value of all exports to Southern Europe. The principal fish was 518,128 quintals of dried, salted cod.

The West Indies were the next most valuable region, in terms of export value, worth £268,941, over 33% of all value from exports (Table 5.15). Though fifty-nine separate commodities were exported, fish constituted the most valuable export item: £194,067, accounting for over 72% of the total value of all exports to the slave labor plantations in the

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<sup>111</sup> The percentages add up to 99 instead of 100 due to rounding. See Table 9 in this chapter for specifics.

<sup>112</sup> Southern Europe includes the Wine Islands. Important though this export branch was, exports from Salem and Marblehead were minor compared to the volume sent from Newfoundland. Using customs records James G. Lydon estimated that between 1704 and 1774, "the Newfoundland trade provided almost 80% of the demand from southern Europe, Massachusetts shipments less than 20%, other areas perhaps 5%." Lydon, "Fish for Gold: The Massachusetts Fish Trade with Iberia, 1700-1773," Table 2 and pages 544-545, 549.

islands (Table 5.13). The 439,521 quintals of “refuse” fish were low grade, in terms of quality, but they were a vital food supplement for the enslaved Africans working in the plantation complex. The next most valuable item was pine board and plank: 15.2 million board feet valued at £25,027, accounting for over 10% of the total value. However, this lumber originated elsewhere in Massachusetts or Maine and only cleared from Salem and Marblehead.<sup>113</sup>

Exports to the coastal trade accounted for £130,494 or over 16% of the total value of all exports. Despite exporting approximately eighty-two separate commodities, However, 71% of this was the re-export of West Indian or West Indian derived products, especially sugar, molasses and rum (Tables 5.11 & 5.12). These three items accounted for two-thirds of the value of all coastwise exports. If we combine the re-exported West Indian commodities in the coastal trade with the exports from Salem and Marblehead for the West Indies, then the total export value originating from the slave labor plantation regimes accounted for over 45% of the total value (Table 5.15). Recall that exports to Southern Europe accounted for 49% of the total value. By comparison, exports to Great Britain were only worth £28,393, less than 1% of the overall value, though even here fish was the most valuable item sent, accounting for nearly half of the total value (Table 5.14).

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<sup>113</sup> According to my analysis of the *The Massachusetts Tax Valuation List of 1771* there were no sawmills in Marblehead and only one in Salem. Ipswich had three sawmills and Wenham had one. Of the remaining nineteen towns in Essex County nine are not recorded at all in the tax list (only half of all the Massachusetts tax lists survived): Beverly, Haverhill, Topsfield, Boxford, Andover, Amesbury, Newbury, Bradford and Methuen. The tax data for two other towns: Newburyport and Danvers, do not list any mills. All the remaining towns: Lynn, Rowley, Salisbury, Gloucester, Middleton, and Manchester, list unspecified types of mills, so they could be grist, fulling or sawmills. Given the rapid deforestation in these towns I suspect that while there were sawmills present in these and the other towns whose records have not survived, the bulk of the lumber clearing out from Salem and Marblehead originated elsewhere. There are several possibilities: one, that the lumber came from either New Hampshire in larger amounts than the total 293,950 ft (Table 11) that was recorded. This seems unlikely. Why smuggle or not record lumber from New Hampshire? Two, the lumber arrived from Maine and was then re-exported. The lumbering industry was expanding from the mid-1760s, as detailed in Chapter three, and intra-colony trade like this went unrecorded, so this seems possible. However, a third possibility is that the lumber originated from the innermost areas of the Merrimack River and was sent downstream. This is difficult to evaluate given the problematic recording of the tax valuation lists. See *The Massachusetts Tax Valuation List of 1771*, ed. Bettye Hobbs Pruitt (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1978). Overall, this is an area awaiting further investigation.

Reviewing the overall trading patterns from Salem and Marblehead over the first three quarters of the eighteenth century reveals how fish dominated exports and how much more valuable they were than present estimates suggested by James Shepherd (Table 5.16). For example, he concluded that the total value of merchantable fish exports to Southern Europe between 1768 and 1772 was £283,906 but using new pricing data reveals that the total value was £417,387. In this area alone the value of the trade was more than 47% larger than he originally found.

Customs records reveal that by 1772 Salem and Marblehead were the single largest suppliers of fish in British North America to the West Indies, providing at least 41% of all exports.<sup>114</sup> Given the high volume of intra-colony trade, fish exports from Boston are most likely re-exports from Salem and Marblehead, and if these Boston amounts are added, then the total export value generated from fish amounts to 69%. Of course, not all fish went to the West Indies and exports to Southern Europe were dominated by the quintals of merchantable cod fish sent across the Atlantic. Roughly half of the value of all exports by the time of the American Revolution was generated through this branch of trade. Through the use of new pricing data supplied by Daniel Vickers, I have re-calculated the value of this trade for all of Massachusetts. The results are a drastic revision upward, an increase of 47% of the value from James Shepherd's estimates, which in turn, have been repeated by many others.<sup>115</sup> These higher figures help us re-position the relative value of the export trade to Southern Europe, but it would have offered little

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<sup>114</sup> Based on my research.

<sup>115</sup> Shepherd's original estimates for Massachusetts were presented in his *Commodity Exports from the British North American Colonies to Overseas Areas, 1768-1772: Magnitudes and Patterns of Trade, Paper No. 258 – October, 1969, Institute for Research in the Behavioral, Economic and Management Sciences* (Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University, 1969), Table 3, page 3. His broad conclusions have been repeated by John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British North America, 1607-1789*, Table 5.2, page 108.



comfort to the men who fished for that merchantable cod. They saw precious little of that value, at least in monetary terms.

Ships clearing from Salem and Marblehead were filled with hard working crews of poor young men who cast their lines over the side and worked the fish into the boat. Later, they separated out the higher grade merchantable fish from the refuse, sending the former to southern European ports and the latter to the West Indies. Life at sea was not easy, despite the routine nature of the work. Half the time men when sailed out between 1689 and 1763 an imperial war raged around them and 30% of all those clearing out from Salem never returned, some claimed by war, some by disease, and others by the sea. Regardless of how they died, they left widows and orphans in their wake. In life however, the products of the fishermen's labor went overseas to ports across Southern Europe. Scholars have noted this trade, even if they have underestimated its value. Similarly, many others have noted the importance of the West Indian market but only in broad strokes. Through the use of customs records a more detailed analysis has revealed the importance of the West Indies, both as an export market and the source of over 70% of the value of the coastal trade. Thus, one of the crucial building blocks in the development of Massachusetts maritime port towns like Salem and Marblehead - the very center of trade - was built providing "the meat of all the slaves in all the West Indies," to sustain the infrastructure of the plantation complex.

**Table 5-1 Ships Clearing Salem 1715 – 1716**

	<b>1715</b>	<b>1716</b>
<b>Quarter</b>	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Ships</b>
December 25 - March 24	15	12
March 25 - June 23	3	8
June 24 - September 28	28	34
September 29 - December 24	36	20
<b>Total Ships</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>74</b>

**Source:** Massachusetts NOSL, CO 5/848, London, PRO, TNA, London, England.

**Table 5-2 Tonnage Clearing Salem 1715 – 1716**

	<b>1715</b>	<b>1716</b>
<b>Quarter</b>	<b>Tonnage</b>	<b>Tonnage</b>
December 25 - March 24	773	643
March 25 - June 23	165	284
June 24 - September 28	1,957	2,270
September 29 - December 24	1,609	1,155
<b>Total Tonnage</b>	<b>4,504</b>	<b>4,352</b>

**Source:** Massachusetts NOSL, CO 5/848, London, PRO, TNA, London, England.

**Table 5-3 Value of Quintals Exported from Salem: 1715 – 1716**

	<b>1715</b>	<b>1715</b>
<b>Quarter</b>	<b>Quintals</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>
December 25 - March 24	8,320	6,614.4
March 25 – June 23	4,200	3,339
June 24 - September 28	33,798	26,869.41
September 29 - December 24	11,881	94,45.39
<b>Total Quintals Exported</b>	<b>58,199</b>	<b>46,268.2</b>
	<b>1716</b>	<b>1716</b>
<b>Quarter</b>	<b>Quintals</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>
December 25 - March 24	8,000	5,960
March 25 - June 23	2,847	2,121
June 24 - September 28	29,602	22,053.49
September 29 - December 24	17,942	1,366.79
<b>Total Quintals Exported</b>	<b>58,391</b>	<b>31,501.28</b>

**Source:** Data is my count derived from the Massachusetts NOSL, CO 5/849, London, PRO, TNA, London, England and based on an average price of 15.9 shillings per quintal in 1715 and 14.9 shillings in 1716 taken from Daniel Vickers, “ ‘A known and staple commoditie’: Codfish Prices in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1640-1775,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Volume 124, (July 1988), Table 1, p. 200.

**Table 5-4 Salem Clearances to Southern Europe in 1716: Ships, Tonnage and Destinations**

	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Tons</b>	<b>Guns</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Destination</b>	<b>Region</b>
	1	100	6	16	Alicante	SE
	1	100	10	14	Alicante	SE
	1	80	4	10	Alicante	SE
	1	80	5	14	Alicante	SE
	1	65		8	Alicante	SE
	1	100	2	12	Alicante	SE
	1	50		8	Alicante	SE
	1	100	10	12	Alicante	SE
	1	150	16	18	Alicante	SE
<b>Sub - Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>825</b>		<b>112</b>		
	1	45		6	Bilbao	SE
	1	50		8	Bilbao	SE
	1	65		8	Bilbao	SE
	1	70		10	Bilbao	SE
	1	100	6	12	Bilbao	SE
	1	50		5	Bilbao	SE
	1	30		6	Bilbao	SE
	1	80		10	Bilbao	SE
	1	90		11	Bilbao	SE
	1	100	2	8	Bilbao	SE
	1	81		10	Bilbao	SE
<b>Sub - Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>761</b>		<b>94</b>		
	1	130	8	15	Cales	SE
	1	35		6	Cales	SE
	1	80	6	9	Cales	SE
<b>Sub - Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>245</b>		<b>30</b>		

Table 5-4 (continued)

	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Tons</b>	<b>Guns</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Destination</b>	<b>Region</b>
	1	40		7	Canary Islands	SE
	1	60	8	8	Canary Islands	SE
<b>Sub - Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100</b>		<b>15</b>		
	1	48		6	Lisbon	SE
	1	50		7	Lisbon	SE
<b>Sub - Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>98</b>		<b>13</b>		
	1	30		5	Macagse	SE
<b>Sub - Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>30</b>		<b>5</b>		
	1	30		6	Madeira	SE
	1	40	2	6	Madeira	SE
	1	90	4	11	Madeira	SE
<b>Sub - Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>160</b>		<b>23</b>		
	1	35		5	Oporto	SE
	1	80	4	10	Oporto	SE
	1	80	6	10	Oporto	SE
	1	50	1	8	Oporto	SE
	1	40		8	Oporto	SE
	1	40		6	Oporto	SE
<b>Sub - Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>325</b>		<b>47</b>		
	1	50	2	9	Portugal	SE
	1	80		9	Portugal	SE
	1	45	2	6	Portugal	SE
<b>Sub - Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>175</b>				

**Table 5-4 (continued)**

	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Tons</b>	<b>Guns</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Destination</b>	<b>Region</b>
	1	84	4	8	Straights	SE
	1	140	16	25	Straights	SE
	1	70	0	8	Straights	SE
	1	100	14	20	Straights	SE
<b>Sub - Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>744</b>		<b>85</b>		
<b>Sub - Total (SE)</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>3463</b>	59%			
<b>Total – All</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>4352</b>	<b>100%</b>			

**Source:** Data taken from Massachusetts NOSL, CO 5/849, London, PRO, TNA, London, England.

**Table 5-5 Salem Clearances to the West Indies in 1716: Ships, Tonnage and Destination**

	<b>Ships</b>	<b>Tons</b>	<b>Guns</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Destination</b>	<b>Region</b>
	1	30	0	5	Antigua	WI
	1	30	0	4	Antigua	WI
	1	35	0	5	Bahama Islands	BA
	1	45	0	5	Barbados	WI
	1	80	0	10	Barbados	WI
	1	26	0	5	Barbados	WI
	1	62	0	8	Barbados	WI
	1	60	0	7	Barbados	WI
	1	40	0	4	Barbados	WI
	1	50	0	6	Barbados	WI
	1	30	0	5	Barbados & Tortudas	WI
	1	40	0	4	Jamaica	WI
	1	15	0	6	Jamaica	WI
	1	25	0	5	Jamaica	WI
	1	48	0	7	St. Christopher	WI
	1	25	0	5	West Indies	WI
	1	30	0	5	West Indies	WI
<b>Sub - Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>671</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>96</b>		
<b>Total - All</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>4352</b>				

**Source:** Date taken from Massachusetts NOSL, CO 5/849, London, PRO, TNA, London, England.



**Table 5-6 Fish Exports and Values from Salem and Marblehead – 1757**

	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>C</b>
<b>Destination</b>	<b>Quintals</b>	<b>Hogsheads</b>	<b>Barrels</b>
Coastal American Ports	63	32	289
West Indies	1,906	6,443	2,991
Europe	59,788	75	16,018
<b>Total</b>	<b>61,757</b>	<b>6,550</b>	<b>19,298</b>
<b>Destination</b>	<b>Quintals</b>	<b>Quintals</b>	<b>Quintals</b>
Coastal American Ports	63	208	578
West Indies	1,906	41,879.50	5,982
Europe	59,788	487.50	32,036
<b>Total</b>	<b>61,757</b>	<b>42,575</b>	<b>38,596</b>
<b>Destination</b>	<b>Total - Quintals</b>	<b>Price Per Quintal</b>	<b>Value – (£)</b>
Coastal American Ports	849	10.9	462.70
West Indies	49,768	5.5	13,686.20
Europe	93,312	10.9	50,855.04
<b>Total</b>	<b>142,928</b>		<b>65,003.94</b>

**Note:** The first three rows across on the top list the total fish exported from Salem and Marblehead between October 11, 1756 and October 11, 1757 from the Massachusetts NOSL, CO 5/849, London, PRO, TNA, London, England. However, all the totals are based on my calculations. Fish was packed and recorded in three ways: quintals (one quintal equaled 100 pounds), hogsheads, and barrels. To standardize the last two, as presented in the second row across, I have converted them into quintals using the following conversions: one hogsheads equaled 6.5 quintals and one barrel equaled two quintals. For the source of the hogshead conversion see William Douglass, *A Summary, History and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North America*, Volume I (London 1760), 539, and, for the barrel, see James G. Lydon, “Fish for Gold: The Massachusetts Fish Trade with Iberia, 1700-1773,” *New England Quarterly*, Volume 54, Issue 4 (December, 1981), Table 2, notes, page 545. However, Lydon does not provide the source for his conversion formula but in the absence of another source I have used his method. The price per quintal data is from Daniel Vickers, “‘A known and staple commoditie’: Codfish Prices in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1640-1775,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Volume 124, (July 1988), Table 1, page 202. The “Coastal American Ports” category includes all of British North America, including Canada.

**Table 5-7 Fish Exports and Values from Salem and Marblehead – 1762**

	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>C</b>
<b>Destination</b>	<b>Quintals</b>	<b>Hogsheads</b>	<b>Barrels</b>
Coastal American Ports	426	4	85
West Indies	1,793	7,986	315
Europe	26,569	20	130
<b>Total</b>	<b>28,788</b>	<b>8,010</b>	<b>530</b>
<b>Destination</b>	<b>Quintals</b>	<b>Quintals</b>	<b>Quintals</b>
Coastal American Ports	426	26	170
West Indies	1,793	51,909	630
Europe	26,569	130	260
<b>Total</b>	<b>28,788</b>	<b>52,065</b>	<b>1,060</b>
<b>Destination</b>	<b>Total - Quintals</b>	<b>Price Per Quintal</b>	<b>Value – (£)</b>
Coastal American Ports	622	10.9	338.99
West Indies	54,332	5.5	14,941.30
Europe	26,959	10.9	14,692.65
<b>Total</b>	<b>81,913</b>		<b>29,972.94</b>

**Note:** The first three rows across on the top list the total fish exported from Salem and Marblehead between January 4, 1762 and January 5, 1763 from the Massachusetts NOSL, CO 5/849, London, PRO, TNA, London, England. However, all the totals are based on my calculations. Fish was packed and recorded in three ways: quintals (one quintal equaled 100 pounds), hogsheads, and barrels. To standardize the last two, as presented in the second row across I have converted them into quintals using the following conversions: one hogsheads equaled 6.5 quintals and one barrel equaled two quintals. For the source of the hogshead conversion see William Douglass, *A Summary, History and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North America*, Volume I (London 1760), 539 and for the barrel see James G. Lydon, “Fish for Gold: The Massachusetts Fish Trade with Iberia, 1700-1773,” *New England Quarterly*, Volume 54, Issue 4 (December, 1981), Table 2, notes, page 545. However, Lydon does not provide the source for his barrel conversion formula but in the absence of another source I have used his method. The price per quintal data is from Daniel Vickers, “‘A known and staple commoditie’: Codfish Prices in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1640-1775,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Volume 124, (July 1988), Table 1, page 202. The “Coastal American Ports” category includes all of British North America, including Canada.

**Table 5-8 Vessels Clearing from Salem and Marblehead: 1768 – 1772**

	<b>1768</b>	<b>1769</b>	<b>1770</b>	<b>1771</b>	<b>1772</b>	<b>1768-1772</b>	<b>1768-1772</b>
<b>Destination</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>Totals</b>	<b>%</b>
Great Britain	0	1	0	2	1	4	>1
Ireland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Europe	57	48	53	67	58	283	16.9
Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
West Indies	137	107	156	154	185	739	44.2
Newfoundland	9	9	10	7	7	42	2.5
Quebec	0	0	3	1	0	4	>1
Island of St. John	0	0	0	2	0	2	>1
Nova Scotia	6	16	11	5	6	44	2.6
New Hampshire	4	4	1	1	0	10	>1
Massachusetts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Connecticut	0	1	0	1	1	3	>1
Rhode Island	0	1	1	1	0	3	>1
New York	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jerseys	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pennsylvania	15	13	13	15	9	65	3.8
Maryland	27	13	25	28	18	111	6.6
Virginia	32	36	55	43	44	210	12.5
North Carolina	14	7	17	15	20	73	4.3
South Carolina	9	14	15	13	16	67	4
Georgia	4	1	2	1	1	9	>1
East Florida	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
West Florida	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bahamas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bermuda	1	0	1	0	0	2	>1
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>271</b>	<b>363</b>	<b>356</b>	<b>366</b>	<b>1,671</b>	<b>97.4</b>

**Note:** My totals based on the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK. Totals do not add up to 100% due to rounding.

**Table 5-9 Tonnage Clearing from Salem and Marblehead: 1768 – 1772**

	<b>1768</b>	<b>1769</b>	<b>1770</b>	<b>1771</b>	<b>1772</b>	<b>1768-1772</b>	<b>1768-1772</b>
<b>Destination</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>Totals</b>	<b>%</b>
Great Britain	0	90	0	220	125	<b>435</b>	>1
Ireland	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>	0
Europe	4,016	3,526	4,193	5,013	3,290	<b>20,038</b>	22.4
Africa	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>	0
West Indies	7,781	6,010	8,659	8,818	10,073	<b>41,341</b>	46.3
Newfoundland	460	510	580	370	350	<b>2270</b>	2.5
Quebec	0	0	145	120	0	<b>265</b>	>1
Island of St. John	0	0	0	70	0	<b>70</b>	>1
Nova Scotia	340	475	413	240	223	<b>1,691</b>	1.8
New Hampshire	160	120	50	22	0	<b>352</b>	>1
Massachusetts	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>	0
Connecticut	0	20	0	30	12	<b>62</b>	>1
Rhode Island	0	40	25	30	0	<b>95</b>	>1
New York	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>	0
Jerseys	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>	0
Pennsylvania	555	640	690	745	500	<b>3,130</b>	3.5
Maryland	1,071	510	1039	1131	791	<b>4,542</b>	5
Virginia	1,196	1,497	2,253	1,668	1,781	<b>8,395</b>	10
North Carolina	513	230	874	522	885	<b>3,024</b>	3.3
South Carolina	492	610	590	550	717	<b>2,959</b>	3.3
Georgia	185	30	155	80	80	<b>530</b>	>1
East Florida	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>	0
West Florida	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>	0
Bahamas	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>	0
Bermuda	40	0	30	0	0	<b>70</b>	>1
<b>Totals</b>	<b>16,809</b>	<b>14,308</b>	<b>19,696</b>	<b>19,629</b>	<b>18,827</b>	<b>89,269</b>	<b>98.1</b>

**Note:** My totals based on the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK. Totals do not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Table 5-10 Exports from Salem and Marblehead to Southern Europe: 1768 – 1772

Commodity	Quantity	PPU	Total - £	Total Val.
<b>Board and Plank (ft) - Unspecified</b>				
1768	<b>298,860</b>	<b>0.0013</b>	388.518	388.51
<b>Boards and Plank - Pine (ft)</b>				
1769	98,300			
1770	161,733			
1771	268,000			
1772	132,000			
<b>Total</b>	<b>660,033</b>	<b>0.0013</b>	858.043	858.04
<b>Bread and Flour (various)</b>				
1768	83 bbs			
1769	1 t, 16 cwt			
1770	20 t, 2 cwt			
1771	61 t, 16 cwt			
1772	25 t			
<b>Total</b>	<b>107 t, 34 cwt, 83 bbs</b>	<b>11/T</b>	1269.84	1269.84
<b>Bricks (n)</b>				
1768	<b>10,000</b>	<b>0.0005</b>	5	5.00
<b>Candles - Spermaceti (lbs)</b>				
1768	250			
1769	3100			
1770	3000			
1771	1200			
1772	500			
<b>Total</b>	<b>8050</b>	<b>0.062</b>	499.1	499.10
<b>Candles - Tallow (lbs)</b>				
1772	1250	<b>0.02</b>	25	25.00
<b>Chocolate (lbs)</b>				
1769	120			

Table 5-10 (continued)

1770	50			
<b>Total</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>0.05639</b>	9.5863	9.58
<b>Cocoa (lbs)</b>				
1770	2000			
1771	4200			
1772	6000			
<b>Total</b>	<b>12200</b>	<b>0.0249</b>	303.78	303.78
<b>Fish - Dried (q)</b>				
1768	100,847	<b>0.770</b>	77652.2	
1769	104,859	<b>0.730</b>	76547.1	
1770	96,352	<b>0.715</b>	68891.7	
1771	119,024	<b>0.700</b>	83316.8	
1772	97,046	<b>0.750</b>	72784.5	
<b>Total</b>	<b>518,128</b>		379192	379192.20
<b>Fish - Pickled (bbs)</b>				
1768	4			
1769	105			
1770	2			
1771	2			
1772	3			
<b>Total</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>0.75</b>	87	87.00
<b>Hay (t, cwt)</b>				
1770	2 t, 18 cwt			
1771	26 t			
1772	5 t			
<b>Total</b>	<b>33 t, 18 cwt</b>			
<b>Hoops (n)</b>				
1769	1000			
1771	2000			
1772	1000			
<b>Total</b>	<b>4000</b>	<b>0.00225</b>	9	9.00

Table 5-10 (continued)

<b>House Furniture - Desks (n)</b>				
1769	7			
1770	3			
1771	10			
1772	8			
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>			
<b>Indian Corn (bushels)</b>				
1768	1610			
1770	850			
1771	2150			
1772	850			
<b>Total</b>	<b>5460</b>	<b>0.225</b>	1228.5	1228.50
<b>Iron (cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1769	3 cwt, 2 q, 8 lbs	<b>12.5 t</b>	2.79	2.79
<b>Logwood (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1769	4 t, 1 cwt, 24 lbs	<b>4.49/T</b>	17.96	17.96
<b>Molasses (g)</b>				
1771	400	<b>0.049</b>	19.6	19.60
<b>Oil (t, g)</b>				
1768	21 t, 121 g			
1769	21 t, 18 g			
1770	2 t, 96 g			
1771	4 t, 162 g			
1772	240 g			
<b>Total</b>	<b>48 t, 637 g</b>	15L	750	750.00
<b>Pease (bushels)</b>				
1768	51			
1769	8			
1772	100			

Table 5-10 (continued)

<b>Total</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>0.2</b>	31.8	31.80
<b>Pitch (bbs)</b>				
1768	100			
1769	119			
<b>Total</b>	<b>219</b>	<b>0.349</b>	76.431	76.43
<b>Potatoes (bushels)</b>				
1769	30	<b>0.0375</b>	1.125	1.12
<b>Rice (bbs)</b>				
1769	322			
1770	4			
<b>Total</b>	<b>326</b>	<b>2.25</b>	733.50	733.50
<b>Rum (g)</b>				
1768 - Unspecified	9659			
<b>Total - Unspecified</b>	<b>9659</b>	<b>0.081</b>	782.379	782.38
1769 - New England	4754			
1770 - New England	7512			
1771 - New England	13,400			
1772 - New England	6852			
<b>Total - New England</b>	<b>32518</b>	<b>0.062</b>	2016.12	2016.11
1769 - West India	930			
1770 - West India	2504			
1771 - West India	600			
<b>Total - West India</b>	<b>4034</b>	<b>0.1</b>	403.40	403.40
<b>Rye (bushels)</b>				
1771	800	<b>0.05</b>	40.00	40.00
<b>Shook Hogsheads (n)</b>				
1768	456			
1770	220			



Table 5-10 (continued)

1771	196			
1772	50			
<b>Total</b>	<b>922</b>	<b>0.125</b>	115.25	115.25
<b>Soap (lbs)</b>				
1768	8780	<b>0.025</b>	219.50	219.50
<b>Spars</b>	<b>N</b>			
1769	69			
<b>Staves and Heading (n)</b>				
1768	26,350			
1769	55,600			
1770	65,075			
1771	20,200			
1772	45,700			
<b>Total</b>	<b>212,925</b>	<b>0.00299</b>	636.646	636.64
<b>Sugar - Brown (cwt)</b>				
1771	6			
1772	457			
<b>Total</b>	<b>463</b>	<b>1.578</b>	730.614	730.61
<b>Sundries</b>				
1770 - Cords of Firewood	13			
<b>Tar (bbs)</b>				
1769	33	<b>0.3</b>	9.90	9.90
<b>Timber (t, sq. ft)</b>				
1768	34 t, .75t			
1769 - Pine	11 t			
1770 - Pine	32 t			
<b>Total</b>	<b>77.75 t</b>	<b>0.4</b>	34.40	34.40

Table 5-10 (continued)

<b>Turpentine (bbs)</b>				
1768	20			
1769	66			
<b>Total</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>0.4</b>	34.40	34.40
<b>Wax - Bees (lbs)</b>				
1769	400			
1772	15660			
<b>Total</b>	<b>16060</b>	<b>0.049</b>	786.94	786.94
<b>Wheat (bushels)</b>				
1769	1800			
1770	9260			
<b>Total</b>	<b>11060</b>	<b>0.175</b>	1935.50	1935.50
<b>Wine of the Azores</b>				
1769	2 t, 126 g	<b>54/T</b>	108.00	108.00
<b>Wood (cords)</b>				
1771	10	<b>0.393</b>	3.93	3.93
<b>Total Value – All Commodities</b>				<b>393,365.71</b>
<b>Total Value – Just Fish</b>				<b>379,192.20</b>
<b>% Value from Fish</b>				<b>96%</b>

**Note:** All commodity listings and totals are mine based on the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK. For prices, see the Rhode Island Appendix. Blank spaces in the pricing column indicates the absence of available price data.

**Table 5-11 Salem and Marblehead Exports to Coastal Trade: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Commodity</b>	<b>Quantity Imported</b>	<b>Quantity Exported</b>	<b>PPU</b>	<b>Value</b>
<b>Anchors (n)</b>	0	10		
<b>Apples - Common (bbs)</b>				
1768	42	138		
1770	0	115		
1771	5	35		
1772	2	0		
<b>TOTAL</b>	49	288		
<b>Ashes - Pearl (t)</b>	0	114	<b>40L/T</b>	<b>4480</b>
<b>Ashes - Pot</b>	1 t, 11 cwt, 2 q	0		
<b>Axes (n)</b>				
1768	309	20		
1769	0	2225		
1770	28	4293		
1771	236	3287		
1772	269	2543		
<b>TOTAL</b>	842	12368		
<b>Beer (lbs.)</b>				
1770	14	97		
1771	17	62		
1772	52	659		
<b>TOTAL</b>	83	818	<b>0.247</b>	<b>202</b>
<b>Beeswax (lbs)</b>				
1768	220	0		
1769	387	0		
1770	14,050	47		
1772	65	0		

Table 5-11 Continued

<b>TOTAL</b>	14,722	47	<b>0.049</b>	<b>2.3</b>
<b>Bran (bus)</b>				
1768	304	0		
1769	994	0		
1770	2320	0		
1771	2760	0		
1772	2596	0		
<b>TOTAL</b>	8,974	0		
<b>Bread &amp; Flour (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1768	457 t, 2 cwt, 2q	53 t, 16 cwt, 3 q, 24 lbs		
1769	781t, 10 cwt	75 t, 16 cwt, 3 q, 402 lbs		
1770	688 t, 5 cwt, 2 q	81 t, 5 cwt, 20 lbs		
1771	646 t, 13 cwt	30 t, 16 cwt, 2 q		
1772	675 t, 10 cwt, 3 q	64 t, 5 cwt, 3 q		
<b>TOTALS</b>	3247 t, 40 cwt, 7 q	303 t, 58 cwt, 11 q, 446 lbs	<b>11/T</b>	<b>3333</b>
<b>Bricks (n)</b>				
1768	19,000	20,000		
1769	0	18,500		
1770	0	23,800		
1771	0	23,200		
1772	0	34,000		
<b>TOTALS</b>	19,000	119,500	<b>0.0005</b>	<b>59.75</b>
<b>Butter (lbs.)</b>				
1770	75	0		
1771 and Cheese	3060	0		

Table 5-11 Continued

1772	1540	350		
<b>TOTALS</b>	4675	350	<b>0.02</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Candles - Spermaceti (lbs)</b>				
1769	0	170		
1770	6075	200		
<b>TOTALS</b>	6075	370	<b>.062/LBS</b>	<b>22.94</b>
<b>Candles - Tallow (lbs)</b>				
1768	0	1384		
1769	2600	940		
1770	190	1300		
1771	0	2600		
1772	0	100		
<b>TOTALS</b>	2790	6324	<b>0.02</b>	<b>126.48</b>
<b>Carriages - chairs</b>	0	12		
<b>Carriages - chaises</b>	15	40		
<b>Cash (L)</b>	0	1610 L, 24 s		
<b>Cattle</b>	0	28	<b>4.5L</b>	<b>126</b>
<b>Cedar Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>	3000	0	<b>0.0013</b>	
<b>Cheese (lbs)</b>				
1768	9,000	13703		

Table 5-11 Continued

1769	100	9705		
1770	2,000	65775		
1771	0	20075		
1772	210	21000		
<b>TOTALS</b>	11,310	130258	<b>0.016</b>	<b>2084.13</b>
<b>Chocolate (lbs)</b>				
1768	0	6435		
1769	0	7813		
1770	265	14991		
1771	315	22247		
1772	1097	19490		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1677	70976	<b>0.05639</b>	<b>4002.33</b>
<b>Clapboards (n)</b>	0	2800	<b>0.00175</b>	
<b>Coals (chaldrons)</b>				
1768	70	0		
1770	16	0		
1771	127.25	0		
1772	52.75	0		
<b>TOTAL</b>	266	0		
<b>Cocoa (lbs)</b>				
1768	500	916		
1769	336	9050		
1770	0	6200		
1771	0	11600		
1772	1200	19028		
<b>TOTALS</b>	2036	46794	<b>0.0249</b>	<b>1165.17</b>
<b>Coffee (cwt, q, lbs)</b>				

Table 5-11 Continued

1768	0	0		
1769	0	12 cwt, 3 q, 15 lbs		
1770	40 cwt, 3 q, 6 lbs	5 cwt, 2 q, 3 lbs		
1771	0	33 cwt, 3 q, 23 lbs		
1772	0	6 cwt, 1 q, 18 lbs		
<b>TOTALS</b>	40 cwt, 3 q, 6 lbs	56 cwt, 9 q, 59 lbs	<b>1.97</b>	<b>110.32</b>
<b>Cordage</b>				
1771	280 cwt	12 cwt		
1772	0	6 cwt, 1 q		
<b>TOTALS</b>	280 cwt	18 cwt, 1 q		
<b>Cordials - Various (g)</b>		170		
<b>Cotton (lbs)</b>				
1768	1851	2000		
1769	1070	1252		
1770	920	300		
1771	224	200		
1772	3440	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	7505	3752	<b>0.05</b>	<b>187.6</b>
<b>Cyder (bbs)</b>	0	8		
<b>Dyewoods - logwood</b>	4 t, 10 cwt	0		
<b>Earthenware</b>	1.5 hh, 6 crates, 7 bbs	16.25 hh, 2 crates		

Table 5-11 Continued

<b>Feathers (lbs)</b>				
1768	1257	20		
1769	950	0		
1770	1400	0		
1771	200	0		
1772	5471	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	9278	20		
<b>Firewood (cords)</b>	0	4		
<b>Firewood - Bark (cords)</b>	0	23		
<b>Fish - Dried (q)</b>				
1768	10103	703.5		
1769	13479	321.5		
1770	13708	452		
1771	5700	1414		
1772	9653	617		
<b>TOTALS</b>	52643	3508	<b>0.568</b>	<b>1992.54</b>
<b>Fish - Pickled (bbs)</b>				
1768	129	494		
1769	366	692.5		
1770	345.5	589		
1771	201	973		
1772	203	553		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1244.5	3301.5	<b>0.75</b>	<b>2476.12</b>
<b>Flax (lbs)</b>				
1769	200	305		
1770	0	50		
1771	0	100		
1772	0	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	200	455	<b>0.031</b>	<b>14.1</b>
<b>Flaxseed (lbs)</b>				
1768	0	556		



Table 5-11 (continued)

1769	18.2	306		
1770	0	820		
1771	0	900		
1772	0	632		
<b>TOTALS</b>	18.2	3214	<b>0.112</b>	<b>359.968</b>
<b>Frunnels (n)</b>	0	3600	<b>0.046</b>	<b>165.6</b>
<b>Furniture - Chairs</b>	53	2849		
<b>Furniture - Desks</b>	15	453		
<b>Furniture - Drawer Cases</b>	0	4		
<b>Furniture - Tables</b>	9	246		
<b>Furs (n, lbs)</b>	647, 1202 lbs	0		
<b>Ginger</b>				
1768	0	3 cwt, 14 lbs		
1769	3 q, 16 lbs	9 cwt, 3 q, 8 lbs		
1770	0	7 cwt, 39q, 18lbs		
<b>TOTALS</b>	3 q, 16 lbs	19 cwt, 42 q, 40 lbs	<b>0.447</b>	<b>8.49</b>
<b>Hams (bbs)</b>	14	26		
<b>Handspikes (n)</b>	72	0		
<b>Hay (t)</b>	0	27		

Table 5-11 (continued)

<b>Hemp (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1768	15 t, 2 cwt, 1 q, 3 lbs	0		
1769	8t, 5cwt	0		
1770	1t, 9cwt	0		
1771	4 cwt, 2q, 6 lbs	0		
1772	132 cwt, 2q	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	24 t, 152 cwt, 5 q, 9 lbs	0	<b>31.45/L/T</b>	
<b>Hides (lbs)</b>	12148	0		
<b>Hoops (n)</b>				
1768	2,000	0		
1769	4,000	10,200		
1770	20,200	0		
1771	2,800	22,000		
1772	0	14,700		
<b>TOTALS</b>	29,000	46,900	<b>0.00225</b>	<b>105.52</b>
<b>Hops (lbs)</b>	0	2000		
<b>Horses (n)</b>	1	0	<b>15L ea.</b>	
<b>Houseframes (n)</b>	0	1	<b>20/EACH</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>Indian Corn (bus)</b>				
1768	53164	649		
1769	107404	1646		
1770	62043	540		

**Table 5-11 (continued)**

1771	105946	134		
1772	82763	294		
<b>TOTALS</b>	411320	3263	<b>0.0749</b>	<b>244.39</b>
<b>Indigo (lbs)</b>				
1768	719	0		
1769	166	0		
1770	522	0		
1771	833	0		
1772	1000	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	3240	0	<b>0.225</b>	
<b>Iron - Bar (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1768	35 t, 12 cwt, 2 q, 8 lbs	1t, 1 cwt, 3 q, 17 lbs		
1769	71t, 10 cwt	11 cwt, 1 q, 22 lbs		
1770	119 t, 10 cwt, 154 bars	0		
1771	121 t, 12 cwt	10 cwt		
1772	100 t, 5 cwt, 2 q	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	446 t, 39 cwt, 4 q, 8 lbs, 154 bars	1 t, 22 cwt, 3 q, 39 lbs	<b>14.96/T</b>	<b>14.96</b>
<b>Iron - Cast (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1768	0	7 t, 6 cwt, 20 lbs		
1769	3 q, 16 lbs	8 t, 13 cwt, 3 q, 16 lbs		
1770	0	21 t, 2 cwt, 20 lbs		
1771	1 t, 2 cwt, 2 q	8 t, 19 cwt		
1772	14 cwt, 1 q	9 t, 14 cwt, 3 q, 20 lbs		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1 t, 16 cwt, 3 q, 16 lbs	53 t, 54 cwt, 6 q, 76 lbs	<b>16.5/T</b>	<b>874.5</b>

**Table 5-11 (continued)**

<b>Lampblack (bbs)</b>	250	400		
<b>Leather (lbs)</b>				
1768	550	0		
1769	1720	2872		
1770	647, 30 hides	1634 hides		
1771	582 lbs, 29 breeches	23916, 84 breeches		
1772	2702, 150 breeches	6218		
<b>TOTALS</b>				
<b>Lime (bus)</b>				
1768	30	0		
1769	4,560	0		
1770	4,310	10		
1771	4,368	0		
1772	3,152	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	16,420	10		
<b>Lime Juice (bbs)</b>	9	1		
<b>Limes (bbs)</b>	5	2	<b>1.5</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Limes and Oranges (n)</b>	5000	0		
<b>Logwood and Lignum Vitae (t, cwt)</b>	10 t, 18 cwt	0		
<b>Lumber - Blocks (n)</b>	0	528		
<b>Lumber - Bark (cords)</b>	0	39		
<b>Mahogany - Feet</b>	12,300	0	<b>6 p/ft</b>	
<b>Mahogany - Logs</b>	30 ft	0		

Table 5-11 (continued)

<b>Mahogany - Square Feet</b>	5970	2800		
<b>Meal and Malt (bus)</b>				
1768	0	194		
1769	0	402		
1770	0	278		
1771	0	41		
1772	0	675		
<b>TOTALS</b>	0	1590	<b>0.1</b>	<b>159</b>
<b>Molasses (g)</b>				
1768	9030	139,474		
1769	500	79433		
1770	152	174749		
1771	250	162039		
1772	1570	112146		
<b>TOTALS</b>	11502	667,841	<b>0.049</b>	<b>32724.2</b>
<b>Myrtlewx (lbs)</b>	250	0		
<b>Mustard - (boxes)</b>	5	0		
<b>Oars</b>				
1768	0	5546		
1769	0	4006		
1770	0	6320		
1771	275	1,500		
1772	1,500	2000		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1,775	19372	<b>0.00625</b>	<b>121.07</b>
<b>Oats (bbs)</b>				
1768	2095	0		

Table 5-11 (continued)

1769	0	0		
1770	2176	0		
1771	0	0		
1772	0	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	4271	0	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Oil - Blubber (bbs)</b>				
1770	4	51		
1771	0	48		
1772	0	16		
<b>TOTALS</b>	4	115	<b>15/T</b>	<b>1725</b>
<b>Oil - Fish</b>				
1768	2 t, 94 g	77 t, 54 g		
1769	4 t, 236 g	75 t, 50 g		
1770	16 t, 184 g	64 t, 52 g		
1771	2 t, 126 g	79 t, 143 g		
1772	3 t, 247 g	45 t, 136 g		
<b>TOTALS</b>	27 t, 887 g	340 t, 435 g	<b>.059/G</b>	<b>5080.78</b>
		86115 g - converted		
<b>Oil - Linseed</b>				
1768	0	0		
1769	1 t, 96 g	0		
1770	210 g	0		
1771	120 g	0		
1772	30 g	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1 t, 456 g	0	<b>2.9/T</b>	
<b>Onions - bushels</b>				
1770	0	0		
1771	0	84		
1772	0	8		
<b>TOTALS</b>	0	92	<b>.004/lbs</b>	<b>0.368</b>

Table 5-11 (continued)

<b>Onions - ropes</b>				
1768	0	300		
1769	34,300	300		
1770	108	2,353		
1771	22,000	787		
1772	300	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>56,708</b>	<b>3,740</b>	<b>.004/lbs</b>	<b>14.96</b>
<b>Pails (doz)</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>18.81</b>		
<b>Paper &amp; Pasteboard - American (reams)</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>113</b>		
<b>Paper - American (reams)</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>0</b>		
<b>Peas (bus)</b>				
1768	1226	86		
1769	745	5		
1770	712	0		
1771	1277	0		
1772	3806	15		
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>7766</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>21.2</b>
<b>Pimento (lbs)</b>				
1768	0	20		
1769	0	50		
1770	0	554		
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>624</b>	<b>0.024</b>	<b>14.97</b>
<b>Pine Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>				
1768	33,000	187,500		
1769	174,100	192,500		
1770	0	344,300		
1771	3,000	193,500		

**Table 5-11 (continued)**

1772	83,850	73,000		
<b>TOTALS</b>	293,950	990,800	<b>.0016/m</b>	<b>1.58</b>
<b>Pitch (bbs)</b>				
1768 - and Tar	1540	55		
1769	626	16		
1770	344	30		
1771	558	15		
1772	1247	47		
<b>TOTALS</b>	4315	163	<b>0.349</b>	<b>56.88</b>
<b>Pork &amp; Beef (bbs)</b>				
1768	304 bbs	195.5 bbs		
1769	73 t, 3 cwt	20 t, 18 cwt		
1770	145 t, 17 cwt, 2 q	14 t, 12 cwt		
1771	967 bbs	31 bbs		
1772	231 bbs	54 bbs		
<b>TOTALS</b>	3722.5 bbs converted	640.5 bbs - converted	<b>2.12/BBS</b>	<b>1357.86</b>
<b>Potatoes</b>				
1768	8	532		
1769	0	823		
1770	110	744		
1771	47	787		
1772	120	188		
<b>TOTALS</b>	285	3,074	<b>0.0375</b>	<b>115.275</b>
<b>Poultry (doz)</b>	9	1,000	<b>0.45</b>	<b>450</b>
<b>Rice (bbs)</b>				
1768	419	0		
1769	779	86		
1770	828	40		
1771	1004	37		



Table 5-11 (continued)

1772	255	11		
<b>TOTALS</b>	3285	174	<b>2.25</b>	<b>391.5</b>
<b>Rosin (bbs)</b>	6	0		
<b>Rum - New England (g)</b>				
1768 - no clear indication ne or wi	2040	118,131		
1769	900	118801		
1770	730	154187		
1771	1820	114968		
1772	600	152553		
<b>TOTALS</b>	6090	658,640	<b>0.062</b>	<b>40835.7</b>
<b>Rum - West Indian (g)</b>				
1768	0	0		
1769	0	5,030		
1770	730	13,668		
1771	300	6,852		
1772	0	4,999		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1,030	30,549	<b>0.1</b>	<b>3054.9</b>
<b>Rye (bus)</b>				
1769	3,976	28		
1771	2,641	0		
1772	1,951	0		
<b>TOTAL</b>	8,568	28	<b>0.05</b>	<b>1.4</b>
<b>Salt (bus)</b>				
1768	800	14,030		
1769	3,724	12,403		
1770	4,599	21,404		

Table 5-11 (continued)

1771	941	14,711		
1772	1,442	10,925		
<b>TOTALS</b>	11,506	73,473	<b>0.051</b>	<b>3747.12</b>
<b>Sheep (n)</b>				
1768	0	217		
1770	12	70		
1771	25	30		
1772	15	8		
<b>TOTALS</b>	52	325	<b>0.35</b>	<b>113.75</b>
<b>Sheep Skins (n)</b>	0	36		
<b>Shingles (n)</b>				
1768	85,000	40,000		
1769	16,000	101,000		
1770	0	101,000		
1771	7,000	645,000		
1772	2,000	25,000		
<b>TOTALS</b>	110,000	912,000	<b>.000397/m</b>	<b>0.362</b>
<b>Shoes (pairs)</b>				
1768	0	5136		
1769	0	4907		
1770	50	9042		
1771	120	10485		
1772	226	10633		
<b>TOTALS</b>	396	40203	<b>0.125</b>	<b>5025.37</b>
<b>Shook Hogsheads (n)</b>				
1768	200	372		

**Table 5-11 (continued)**

1769	144	530		
1770	100	2380		
1771	100	1680		
1772	0	920		
<b>TOTALS</b>	544	5882	<b>0.125</b>	<b>735.23</b>
<b>Skins - calf, sheep, peltry (doz, lbs)</b>	67 doz, 85 lbs	0		
<b>Skins</b>				
<b>Caraboo (n)</b>	48	0		
<b>Raw Deer (lbs)</b>	7913	0		
<b>Dried Deer (lbs)</b>	664	0		
<b>Moose (n)</b>	44	0		
<b>Sheep and Seal (n)</b>	200	0		
<b>Seal (n)</b>	100	0		
<b>Snakeroot (lbs)</b>				
1769	186	0		
1770	30	0		
1771	42	0		
1772	40	0		
<b>TOTAL</b>	298	0		
<b>Soap - Soft or Hard (bbs)</b>				
1768	7	2		
1769	13	0		
1770	2500-hard	0		
1771	18	0		
1772	15	2		
<b>TOTAL</b>				
<b>Spars (n)</b>				

Table 5-11 (continued)

1769	0	22		
1770	0	110		
1771	0	100		
1772	0	11		
<b>TOTALS</b>	0	243		
<b>Spinning Wheels (n)</b>	3	15		
<b>Starch (keg)</b>	1	0		
<b>Staves (n)</b>				
1768	14,900	6,800		
1769	54,230	1,000		
1770	24,280	3,000		
1771	29,750	10,000		
1772	1,420,500	5,450		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1,543,660	26,250	<b>0.00299</b>	<b>78.48</b>
<b>Stones (n)</b>	2	2		
<b>Stone Slabs (n)</b>	1	0		
<b>Stones - Grind (n)</b>				
1771	1	2		
1772	400	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	401	2		
<b>Sugar - Brown (cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1768	72 cwt, 3 q, 16 lbs	355 cwt, 2 q		
1769	0	567 cwt, 3 q, 12 lbs		
1770	165 cwt	1178 cwt, 3 q, 4 lbs		
1771	68 cwt, 17 lbs	791 cwt, 1 q, 27 lbs		

Table 5-11 (continued)

1772	29 cwt	1009 cwt, 2 q, 15 lbs		
<b>TOTALS</b>	334 cwt, 3 q, 33 lbs	3900 cwt, 9 q, 58 lbs	<b>1.578</b>	<b>6154</b>
<b>Sugar - Loaf (lbs)</b>				
1768	0	10028		
1769	0	829		
1770	0	2503		
1771	0	4453		
1772	290	3564		
<b>TOTALS</b>	290	21377	<b>0.031</b>	<b>662.68</b>
<b>Tallow &amp; Lard (lbs)</b>				
1768	4518	400		
1769	10260	1300		
1770	10840	0		
1771	12383	1000		
1772	6140	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	44141	2700	<b>0.02</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>Tar (bbs)</b>				
1769	769	0		
1770	1863	40		
1771	2107	26		
1772	2234	32		
<b>TOTALS</b>	6973	98	<b>0.3</b>	<b>29.4</b>
<b>Timber - Cedar</b>	2 t, 10 ft, 4552 ft-boards	0		
<b>Timber - Oak (t)</b>	6 t, 20 ft	0		
<b>Timber - Walnut (t, ft)</b>	8t, 20 ft; 1780 ft -boards			
<b>Tobacco (lbs)</b>				

Table 5-11 (continued)

1768	1149	0		
1769	0	580		
1770	2262	703		
1771	3159	3405		
1772	2294	1323		
<b>TOTALS</b>	8864	6011	<b>0.019</b>	<b>114.2</b>
<b>Turpentine (bbs)</b>				
1769	157	6		
1770	416	22		
1771	240	0		
1772	167	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	980	28	<b>0.4</b>	<b>11.2</b>
<b>Turpentine Spirits (bbs)</b>	10	0		
<b>Wheat (bus)</b>				
1768	6931	0		
1769	9452	0		
1770	13916	0		
1771	13785	0		
1772	3942	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	48026	0		
<b>Wine of the Azores (t, g)</b>				
1768	5 t, 190 g	34 t, 52 g		
1769	3t, 210 g	60t, 103 g		
1770	4 t, 141 g	150 g		
1771	0	7 t, 139 g		
1772	1t, 78 g	240 g		
<b>TOTALS</b>	13 t, 619 g	101 t, 684 g	<b>54L/T</b>	<b>5454</b>

**Table 5-11 (continued)**

<b>Woodware or Woodenware (doz)</b>	0.5	0		
<b>Wrought Iron Anchor Stocks (t)</b>	14	19 t, 16 ft		
<b>Wrought Iron Scythes</b>				
1770	0	32		
1771	0	30		
1772	0	8		
<b>TOTAL</b>	0	70		
<b>Wrought Iron Various (q)</b>	3	0		
<b>Misc</b>				
	2 mill cranks	16.5 dozen sieves		
	27 dozen brooms	34 saddles, 17 bridles		
		120 n tiles		
		4 bbs nuts		
<b>Total Value</b>				<b>130,495</b>

**Note:** All commodity listings and totals are mine based on the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK. For prices, see the Rhode Island Appendix. Blank spaces in the pricing column indicates my inability to locate any prices for this commodity.

**Table 5-12 Coastal Trade Exports from Salem and Marblehead:  
West Indian Re-Exports 1768 – 1772**

<b>Commodity</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>
Chocolate	4,002.33
Cocoa	1,165.17
Coffee	110.32
Cotton	187.60
Ginger	8.49
Indigo	3.00
Molasses	32,724.20
New England Rum	40,835.68
West Indian Rum	3,054.90
Pimento	14.97
Salt	3,747.12
Sugar Brown	6,154.00
Sugar Loaves	662.68
<b>Total - West Indian</b>	<b>92,670.46</b>
<b>Total - All Coastwise</b>	<b>130,494.60</b>

**Source:** Same as Table 11.



Table 5-13 Salem & Marblehead Exports to the West Indies: 1768 – 1772

Commodity	Quantity Exported	PPU	Total Value
<b>Anchor Stocks (n)</b>	26		
<b>Apples (bbs)</b>			
1768			
1769 - and Cyder	27		
1770	0		
1771	19		
1772	26		
<b>TOTALS</b>	72		
<b>Axes (n)</b>			
1770	96		
1771	168		
1772	264		
<b>TOTALS</b>	528		
<b>Barley (bus)</b>	88		
<b>Beer &amp; Cyder (bbs)</b>			
1770	44	<b>0.247</b>	<b>10.86</b>
<b>Bowsprits (n)</b>			
1769	2	<b>15.03</b>	<b>30.06</b>
<b>Bread &amp; Flour (t, cwt, q)</b>			
1768	74 bbs		
1769	25 t, 8 cwt		
1770	50 t, 13 cwt, 2 q		
1771	11 t, 8 cwt, 2 q		
1772	39 t, 1 cwt		

Table 5-13 (continued)

<b>TOTALS</b>	132.5 t - converted	<b>11 L/T</b>	<b>1,457.50</b>
<b>Bricks (n)</b>			
1768	97,800		
1769	106,300		
1770	78,800		
1771	63,100		
1772	61,000		
<b>TOTALS</b>	407,000	<b>0.0005</b>	<b>203.50</b>
<b>Candles - Spermaceti (lbs)</b>			
1768	4,125		
1769	2,795		
1770	4,810		
1771	6,915		
1772	3,175		
<b>TOTALS</b>	21,820	<b>.062/LBS</b>	<b>1,352.84</b>
<b>Candles - Tallow (lbs)</b>			
1768	250		
1769	2,500		
<b>TOTALS</b>	2,750	<b>0.02</b>	<b>55.00</b>
<b>Carriages - chaises</b>	3		
<b>Carriages - wagons</b>	1		
<b>Cattle</b>			
1768	161		
1769	111		
1770	39		
1771	21		
1772	23		
<b>TOTALS</b>	355	<b>4.5L</b>	<b>1,597.50</b>

Table 5-13 (continued)

<b>Cheese (lbs)</b>			
1768	400		
1770	40		
1771	400		
1772	1,200		
<b>TOTALS</b>	2,040	<b>0.016</b>	<b>32.64</b>
<b>Chocolate (cwt)</b>			
1769	430		
1772	800		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1,230	<b>0.05639</b>	<b>69.35</b>
<b>Clapboards (n)</b>			
1768	3,650		
1769	3,905		
1770	2,000		
<b>TOTALS</b>	9,555	<b>0.00175</b>	<b>16.72</b>
<b>Fish - Dried (q)</b>		conv. s/per q	
1768	71,738	7.95	<b>28,515.85</b>
1769	80,650	8.84	<b>35,647.3</b>
1770	85,283	9.1	<b>38,803.76</b>
1771	87,889	9.1	<b>39,989.49</b>
1772	113,961	8.97	<b>51,111.5</b>
<b>TOTALS</b>	439,521		<b>194,067.9</b>
<b>Fish - Pickled (bbs)</b>			
1768	3,456		
1769	2,046		
1770	946		
1771	1,086		
1772	1,556		
<b>TOTALS</b>	9,090	<b>0.75</b>	<b>6,817.50</b>
<b>Furniture - Chairs</b>			
1770	96		

Table 5-13 (continued)

1771	12		
1772			
<b>TOTALS</b>			
<b>Furniture - Desks</b>			
1769	119		
1770	119		
1771	126		
1772	139		
<b>TOTALS</b>	503		
<b>Furniture - Drawer Cases</b>			
1769 - Cabinets	5		
1772	1		
<b>TOTALS</b>	6		
<b>Furniture - Tables</b>			
1769	20		
1770	61		
1771	27		
1772	19		
<b>TOTALS</b>	127		
<b>Handspikes (n)</b>			
1772	288		
<b>Total</b>	288		
<b>Hay</b>			
1770	31		
1771	2 tons		
1772	2 tons		
<b>Total</b>			
<b>Hogs (n)</b>			

Table 5-13 (continued)

1771	302		
<b>Hoops (n)</b>			
1769	336,289		
1770	311,380		
1771	251,080		
1772	236,798		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1,135,547	<b>0.00225</b>	<b>2,554.98</b>
<b>Horses (n)</b>			
1768	49		
1769	59		
1770	52		
1771	40		
1772	25		
<b>TOTALS</b>	225	<b>15</b>	<b>3,375.00</b>
<b>Houseframes (n)</b>			
1769	11		
1771	1		
1772	2		
<b>TOTAL</b>	14	<b>20</b>	<b>280.00</b>
<b>Indian Corn (bus)</b>			
1768	597		
1769	2,007		
1770	1,179		
1771	3,298		
1772	512		
<b>TOTALS</b>	7,593	<b>0.0749</b>	<b>5,687.15</b>
<b>Lampblack (bbs)</b>	20		
<b>Leather (lbs)</b>			
1769	500		
1772	344		

Table 5-13 (continued)

<b>TOTALS</b>	844		
<b>Masts (n)</b>	4	23.05	<b>92.20</b>
<b>Oars (ft)</b>			
1768	5,858		
1769	300		
1770	3,500		
1771	7,400		
1772	3,600		
<b>TOTALS</b>	20,658	<b>0.00625</b>	<b>129.11</b>
<b>Oats (bbs)</b>			
1771	12		
1772	24		
<b>TOTALS</b>	36	<b>0.05</b>	<b>1.80</b>
<b>Oil (t)</b>			
1768	66.6 t		
1769	91.11 t		
1770	66.16 t		
1771	12.87 t		
1772	32.06 t		
<b>TOTALS</b>	268.8 t	<b>15/T</b>	<b>4,032.00</b>
<b>Onions - (bunches)</b>			
1770	30,050		
<b>TOTALS</b>	30,050		
<b>Onions - bushels</b>			
1768	227		

Table 5-13 (continued)

1769	518		
1770	542		
1771	253		
1772	0		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1,540	<b>.004/lbs</b>	<b>6.16</b>
<b>Onions - ropes</b>			
1768			
1769	15,650		
1771	2,000		
<b>TOTALS</b>	17,650	<b>.004/lbs</b>	<b>70.60</b>
<b>Pails (n)</b>	5 dozen		
<b>Peas (bus)</b>			
1768	98		
1769	24		
1770	15		
1771	36		
1772	231		
<b>TOTALS</b>	404	<b>0.2</b>	<b>80.80</b>
<b>Pine Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1768	3,646,995		
1769	4,042,702		
1770	3,645,775		
1771	3,918,809		
1772	3,997,680		
<b>TOTALS</b>	19,251,961	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>25,027.54</b>
<b>Pitch (bbs)</b>			
1768	16	<b>0.349</b>	<b>5.58</b>

Table 5-13 (continued)

<b>Pork &amp; Beef (bbs/t, cwt)</b>			
1768	54 bbs		
1769	5 t, 5 cwt		
1770	21 t, 9 cwt		
1771	79 bbs		
1772	20 bbs		
<b>TOTALS</b>	270.61 bbs converted	<b>2.12/BBS</b>	<b>573.69</b>
<b>Potatoes (bus)</b>			
1768	481		
1769	521		
1770	225		
1771	342		
1772	400		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1,969	<b>0.0375</b>	<b>73.83</b>
<b>Poultry (doz)</b>			
1769	23		
1770	4		
1771	20.3		
<b>TOTALS</b>	47	<b>0.45</b>	<b>21.15</b>
<b>Rice (casks)</b>	22	<b>2.25</b>	<b>49.50</b>
<b>Rum - New England (g)</b>			
1770	260	<b>0.062</b>	<b>16.12</b>
<b>Rum - West Indian</b>			
1770	200		
1772	378		
<b>TOTALS</b>	578	<b>0.1</b>	<b>57.80</b>
<b>Salt (bus)</b>			



Table 5-13 (continued)

1771	84	<b>0.051</b>	<b>4.28</b>
<b>Sheep (n)</b>			
1768	342		
1769	243		
1770	270		
1772	271		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1,126	<b>0.35</b>	<b>394.10</b>
<b>Shingles (n)</b>			
1768	3,528,760		
1769	3,486,261		
1770	2,730,669		
1771	2,911,120		
1772	2,620,350		
<b>TOTALS</b>	15,277,160	<b>0.000397</b>	<b>6,065.03</b>
<b>Shoes (pairs)</b>			
1768	110		
1769	468		
1770	1,076		
1771	1,816		
1772	916		
<b>TOTALS</b>	4,386	<b>0.125</b>	<b>548.25</b>
<b>Shook Hogsheads</b>			
1768	12,994		
1769	15,445		
1770	17,181		
1771	15,513		
1772	14,717		
<b>TOTALS</b>	75,850	<b>0.125</b>	<b>9,481.25</b>
<b>Spars (n, iunches)</b>			

Table 5-13 (continued)

1769	12		
1770	79		
1771	90		
1772	32		
<b>TOTALS</b>	213		
<b>Staves (n)</b>			
1768	961,167		
1769	128,450		
1770	99,240		
1771	134,480		
1772	144,075		
<b>TOTALS</b>	1,467,412	<b>0.00299</b>	<b>4,387.56</b>
<b>Tallow &amp; Lard (lbs)</b>			
1772	400		
<b>TOTALS</b>	400	<b>0.02</b>	<b>8.00</b>
<b>Tar (bbs)</b>			
1771	51		
1772	20		
<b>TOTALS</b>	71	<b>0.3</b>	<b>21.30</b>
<b>Timber - Oak (t)</b>			
1771	4 t, 2 ft	<b>.9/T</b>	<b>3.60</b>
<b>Timber - Pine (t)</b>			
1769	125	<b>.4/T</b>	<b>50.00</b>
<b>Tobacco (lbs)</b>			
1769	333		
1772	450		
<b>TOTALS</b>	783	<b>0.019</b>	<b>14.87</b>
<b>Turpentine (bbs)</b>			

**Table 5-13 (continued)**

1771	21	<b>0.4</b>	<b>8.40</b>
<b>Wine of the Azores (t, g)</b>			
1769	2 t, 31 g	<b>54/T</b>	<b>108.00</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	2t, 31 g		
<b>Wood (cords)</b>	17		
		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>268,941.02</b>

**Note:** All commodity listings and totals are mine based on the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK. For prices, see the Rhode Island Appendix. Blank spaces in the pricing column indicates my inability to locate any prices for this commodity.

Table 5-14 Exports from Salem and Marblehead to Great Britain: 1768-1772

Commodity	Quantity	PPU - £	Value - £
<b>Boards and Plank - Pine (ft)</b>			
1771	80,000	0.0013	104.00
<b>Fish - Dried (q)</b>			
1771	2000	0.700	1,400.00
<b>Handspikes (n)</b>			
1769	40		
<b>Laths (t)</b>			
1769	1		
<b>Lathwood (cords)</b>			
1771	8		
<b>Lumber - Timber - Pine (t)</b>			
1771	60 t	.4/T	24.00
<b>Masts, Yards, Bowspits and Spars</b>	<b>Tons</b>		
Bowspits - 1769	3		
Masts - 1769	12		
Spars - 1769	5,7/8ths		
Spars - 1771	N - 50	14.53	726.50
<b>Oars (ft)</b>			
1771	2,000	0.00625	12.50
<b>Oil (t, g)</b>			
1769	100 g		
1772	1 t, 68 g		
Total	1 t, 168 g	15 L	24.90
<b>Spruce Poles</b>			
1769	10 tons		

**Table 5-14 (continued)**

<b>Staves and Heading (n)</b>			
1769	6,750		
1772	10,000		
<b>Total</b>	<b>16,750</b>	0.00299	50.08
<b>Tar - Common (bbs)</b>			
1772	1200	0.3	360
<b>Timber - Oak (t, ft)</b>			
1769	11	.9/T	69.30
<b>Timber - Pine (t, ft)</b>			
1769	170	.4/T	68.00
<b>Total Value</b>			<b>2,839.28</b>

**Note:** All commodity listings and totals are mine based on the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK. For prices, see the Rhode Island Appendix. Blank spaces in the pricing column indicates my inability to locate any prices for this commodity.

**Table 5-15 Value of Salem and Marblehead Exports to All Regions – 1768-1772**

<b>Export Area</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
Coastal	130,494	16.4%
Great Britain	2,839	>1%
Southern Europe	393,365	49.4%
West Indies	268,941	33.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>795,639</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Export Area</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
Coastal - Non West Indian Products	37,824	4.7%
Coastal - West Indian Products	92,670	11.6%
Great Britain	2,839	>1%
Southern Europe	393,365	49.4%
West Indies	268,941	33.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>795,639</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Tables 10-11, 13-14.

**Table 5-16 Fish Exports from Salem and Marblehead for Select Years: 1715 – 1772**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Clearances</b>	<b>Tonnage</b>	<b>Fish - Q</b>	<b>Value – (£)</b>
1715	82	4,504	58,199	46,268.20
1716	74	4,352	58,391	31,501.28
1757	233	12,988	61,757	33,657.55
1762	204	10,705	28,788	18,856.13
1770	363	19,696	181,635	107,695.46

**Source:** All of the ship clearances, tonnage, and fish totals are my calculations based on the Massachusetts NOSL, CO 5/849, London, PRO, TNA, London, England and Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK., as presented and noted in Tables 1-3, 6-10, 13.

**Note:** The quintals of fish figures for 1770 neither include pickled fish nor exports to Great Britain nor the Coastal markets. Fish exports that were listed under barrels or hogsheads were excluded from the above totals.

## **6.0 “BOSTON...THE MART TOWN OF THE WEST INDIES”<sup>1</sup>**

Both contemporaries and scholars have noted that Boston served as the economic center for New England, a de facto regional capital in the colonial era. Located on a peninsula almost completely surrounded by water, colonists took to the sea in an effort to locate export markets because Bostonians were in considerable debt, buying more English goods than they could afford. They found a solution in the slave labor plantations in the Caribbean after the sugar revolution transformed the islands into hungry consumers of fish and timber, thus providing a steady market for Bostonians to sell products and help pay off their debts. Bostonians could not grow or produce enough goods on the small land area which constituted the town so they carried off goods from the surrounding areas in Massachusetts and New England more broadly. More importantly, in terms of value, they re-exported slave produced West Indian products and their derivatives along the British North American coast. Although Bostonians would sail to ports across the Atlantic a significant amount of their exports would be built on a West Indian foundation.

A number of previous studies have touched on aspects of the West Indian trade, but none have offered a full analysis. The general outlines of Boston's economic fortunes in the colonial era have been well established by Gary Nash, who was less concerned with assessing the West

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<sup>1</sup> This was the conclusion of Edward Randolph, in his Report to the Board of Trade, dated October 12, 1676. See the *Edward Randolph Papers*, Volume II (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1898), 247.



Indian component of Boston's overall trading patterns.<sup>2</sup> Yet he noted that the West Indian trade was "always vital to Boston's well being."<sup>3</sup> Nash took a comparative approach in chronicling changes in Boston as a major port, examining it with New York and Philadelphia.<sup>4</sup> Jacob Price used a similar comparative approach of port cities, but like Nash did not measure the impact or amount of the West Indian trade.<sup>5</sup> Murray G. Lawson examined the Naval Office Shipping Lists (NOSL) for Boston between 1752 and 1765 and provided raw data concerning clearances, entrances and tonnage, but offered neither analysis of this material nor observations over time regarding the West Indian trade.<sup>6</sup> David Klingaman also used selected years of the NOSL to estimate the coastal trade of all of Massachusetts, including Boston.<sup>7</sup> He provided an overview of re-exported West Indian products, rather than a more in-depth analysis that included their relative value.<sup>8</sup> James Shepherd framed his analysis of exports by colony rather than by port, and

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<sup>2</sup> Nash does have a chart comparing the tonnage clearing Boston between 1714-1775 to those of Philadelphia and New York but we do not have any sense as to the proportions of each major branch of the export trade this represents for Boston. See Gary Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), Appendix, Figure 2, 410-411.

<sup>3</sup> Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution*, 426. James Henretta offered a broader conclusion: "All aspects of town life were affected by Boston's involvement in the dynamic, competitive world of Atlantic commerce," but tellingly offered no specifics about which export markets were the most important or what goods were sent there. See James Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Volume 22, Issue 1 (January 1965), 75-92. The quote is on page 75.

<sup>4</sup> Jeff Bolster recently re-summarized Nash's findings in his chapter, "The Eclipse of Boston," in a multi-authored volume he wrote with Alex Roland and Alexander Keyssar, *The Way of the Ship, American Maritime History Reenvisioned, 1600-2000* (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2008), 57-68. Although the table of contents does not indicate it, Bolster told me personally that he wrote that chapter.

<sup>5</sup> Jacob M. Price, "Economic Function and the Growth of American Port Towns in the Eighteenth Century," *Perspectives in American History*, XXIV (1974), 121-186.

<sup>6</sup> Murray G. Lawson, "The Routes of Boston's Trade, 1752-1765," *Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, XXXVIII: Transactions, 1947-1951*, (Boston, 1959), 81-120. Lawson also failed to note that the Naval Office records did not include any intra-New England trade, which was a major aspect of ship traffic in and out of Boston. I examine this point later in the chapter regarding trade data between 1768 and 1772.

<sup>7</sup> David C. Klingaman, "The Coastwise Trade of Colonial Massachusetts," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Volume 108 (July 1972), 217-234.

<sup>8</sup> In addition, I find his methodology of "estimating" missing ship data problematic. His price data is outdated, especially for fish, which has been superseded by the new Vickers data-set, and, in general, by material supplied by McCusker in his "Colonial Statistics," and my own data. Finally, Klingaman ignores the intra-New England trade in his estimates, without explaining his reason for doing so.

thus did not track Boston's specific trading patterns.<sup>9</sup> Richard Pares provided some scattered data on ship clearances, tonnage and cargoes exported to the West Indies, but did not analyze the relative value of this export market or the importance of slave-produced West Indian goods re-exported in the coastal trade.<sup>10</sup>

The port town from which ships bound to the West Indies cleared was nearly surrounded by water. Geographically, the land mass which became re-named by the English settlers as "Boston" was a peninsula nearly completely "encompassed by the sea, except by a small neck of land."<sup>11</sup> Although Boston harbor itself might accommodate a large number of ships - one estimate claimed as many as "five hundred"-one observer noted that the entrance to the harbor was "so narrow as scarcely to admit two ships abreast."<sup>12</sup> Sailing into Boston Harbor was thus no easy task. Although a lighthouse was built in 1715 to aid ships entering and leaving, every Captain had to steer clear of the many small, rocky islands that lay between the wider Atlantic and the waterfront docks in Boston.<sup>13</sup> Those who would or could not reach the wharves might "anchor in the bay if the wind is off the shore."<sup>14</sup> However, some forty "islands," a loose term at best since most were barely more than rocks jutting up from the sea, tested any ship's crew, especially during inclement weather. Only skilled mariners working diligently might safely enter

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<sup>9</sup> James F. Shepherd, *Commodity Exports from the British North American Colonies to Overseas Areas, 1768-1772: Magnitudes and Patterns of Trade*, Paper No. 258 – October, 1969, Institute for Research in the Behavioral, Economic and Management Sciences (Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University, 1969).

<sup>10</sup> Richard Pares, *Yankees and Creoles* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1956).

<sup>11</sup> "Randolph's Report to the Committee for Trade and Plantations, October 12, 1676," in *Randolph Papers*, Volume II (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1898), 238-239.

<sup>12</sup> Jedidiah Morse, *The American Geographer* (London: John Stockdale, 1794), 331-332.

<sup>13</sup> Douglass, *A Summary, Historical and Political*, Volume 1, (Boston, 1749), 541. Ships had to pay 1 pence in and 1 pence out per ton until 1742, when the fee was both raised and more focused; two pence (Old Tenor) in and out of the port, per ton, on foreign voyages. Given currency depreciation and how much the coastal trade dominated Boston's shipping (as discussed later in the chapter), this policy, in effect, lowered the overall fees paid. For a visual presentation of the many rocky islands see Map X.

<sup>14</sup> All the sailing information in this paragraph comes from Captain Lawrence Furlong, who drew from his own experience, as well as other captains, in compiling, *The American Coast Pilot* (Newburyport: Edmund M. Blunt, 1800), 48-49.

southward and avoid the Cohasset Rocks which jugged out south of Boston “above water some distance from the land” or Harden’s rocks, “which may be seen two hours before low water.” Safely navigating “the light-house and George’s Island Rocks,” they had to watch for “another rock called the Centurion, in mid channel, with 15 feet water on it.” From here it was only half a mile to Gallup’s Island Point and then “through the Narrows by Nick’s Mate half a mile distant” but as Captain Lawrence Furlong warned, “Nick’s Mate must be left on your larboard hand, one cable’s length distant.” Next, the ship was steered for Castle-Island about four miles away and all eyes held fast to watch for “Castle-Rocks” near the Island. From here the Captain had “to clear the Upper-Middle-Ground” rocks, “steer North West by West for two miles and a half” which brought the ship safely “opposite the town.”

Links between Boston and the West Indies were established early in the empire-building process.<sup>15</sup> Early seventeenth century settlers in Boston struggled to establish a suitable market for furs, fish, and timber products but found little success.<sup>16</sup> However, following the “sugar revolution” in Barbados in the 1640s, Bostonians, like their neighbors in nearby port towns, seized the opportunity to supply the sugar planters’ needs.<sup>17</sup> Richard Vines wrote from Barbados to Massachusetts Governor John Winthrop about how “men are so intent upon planting sugar that they had rather buy foode at very deare rates than produce it by labor, so infinite is the profit of sugar works.”<sup>18</sup> Winthrop had noted the importance of the sugar islands as an export market

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<sup>15</sup> This chapter focuses more on certain elements regarding the economic linkages but omits many other pertinent and related connections, especially those involving the use of slave labor in both Massachusetts and the West Indies, a topic explored in chapter eight of the dissertation.

<sup>16</sup> Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1955), 45-82. In addition to the West Indian trade Boston merchants began to develop the fishing industry, though by the eighteenth century this enterprise was led by their counterparts in Salem and Marblehead, as chapter four detailed.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 59-67 describes the sugar boom.

<sup>18</sup> “Richard Vines to John Winthrop, July 19, 1647,” in *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume 5, edited by Allyn Bailey Forbes, (Boston 1947), 171-172.

early on, observing in 1641 how “our people look out to the West Indies for a trade.”<sup>19</sup> In the prior absence of the West Indian market, the economic situation had become quite serious in Boston, “as our means for English commodities were grown very short, it pleased the Lord to open to us a trade with Barbados and other Islands in the West Indies.”<sup>20</sup> The sugar islands provided a much needed market since Bostonians lacked the means to pay for necessary English imports. With every London ship that brought English manufactured goods ranging from cloths, cookware, iron tools, etc. their debts increased. Winthrop described the overall exchange pattern and the significance of the West Indian market: “the commodities we had in exchange for our cattle and provisions, sugar, cotton, tobacco, and indigo, were a good help to discharge our engagements [debts] in England.”<sup>21</sup> Trade to the islands expanded quickly as sugar production increased and by “the 1680s nearly half the ships that served the islands came from New England, and over half of the ships entering and clearing Boston were in the West Indian trade,”<sup>22</sup> establishing linkages between the two areas that lasted through the eighteenth century.

Providing supplies to sustain the plantation infrastructure helped Boston achieve its status as “the metropolis of the colony” by 1676.<sup>23</sup> By then, there were an estimated 4,000 men “able to bear arms” in town. A sizable number of dwellings had been built, “about 2,000 houses, most built with timber and covered with shingles of cedar, as are most of the buildings in this country, some few brick buildings are covered with tiles.”<sup>24</sup> There were a few houses that had multiple

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<sup>19</sup> *Winthrop's Journal Volume II*, ed. James Kendall, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 31.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, 31.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, 328.

<sup>22</sup> Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 336.

<sup>23</sup> Edward Randolph, “Randolph's Report to the Committee for Trade and Plantations, October 12, 1676,” in *Randolph Papers*, Volume II (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1898), 238-239.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, 238-239.

rooms but “not above twenty in Boston have ten rooms each.” Most of the fifteen hundred families lived in smaller quarters.<sup>25</sup>

Many of these family men “looking to the West Indies for a trade” worked on or near the sea: as fishermen, sailors, and shipbuilders. Edward Randolph noted how Boston and the surrounding “maritime towns are well stored with able Masters, Mariners, Fisherman & good carpenters; they build yearly several ships of good burthern besides Ketches and Barks, and for these seven last years they have launched twenty ships, some of 100 tons & some under this present year.”<sup>26</sup> By 1700, Massachusetts Governor Richard Coote surveyed Boston’s fleet and found 50 brigantines, 13 ketches and 67 sloops, along with some unspecified vessels: 39 under 100 tons; 25 between 100 and 300 tons. In all, the fleet size had grown to 194 vessels.<sup>27</sup> Coote was impressed by the sheer number of vessels and he “ventured to say that there were more good vessels belonging to Boston than to all Scotland and Ireland.”<sup>28</sup> These were the ships moving fish and timber to the West Indies, to neighboring colonies in America, and ports in Southern Europe and Great Britain.<sup>29</sup>

Despite the demand from the West Indies, little of the wealth generated from this trade was transferred to Boston’s maritime workforce who caught fish, felled the timber, coopered the hogsheads, or loaded and sailed the ships. Instead, by the start of the eighteenth century Boston

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<sup>25</sup> Edward Randolph to Secretary Coventry, June 17, 1676, in the *Randolph Papers*, Volume II (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1898), 217.

<sup>26</sup> “Randolph’s Report to the Committee for Trade and Plantations, October 12, 1676,” in *Randolph Papers*, Volume II (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1898), 238-239.

<sup>27</sup> “Governor Richard Coote to the Council of Trade and Plantations, November 28, 1700,” in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1574-1739 CD-ROM*, consultant editors Karen Ordahl Kupperman, John C. Appleby and Mandy Banton, (London: Routledge, published in association with the Public Record Office, copyright 2000). Hereafter abbreviated as *CSPCD*.

<sup>28</sup> “Governor Richard Coote to the Council of Trade and Plantations, November 28, 1700,” in *CSPCD*, in which he added one caveat, “unless one should reckon the small craft, such as herring boats,” implying that Scotland and Ireland must have had many more than Boston.

<sup>29</sup> “Randolph’s Report to the Committee for Trade and Plantations, October 12, 1676,” in *Randolph Papers*, Volume II (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1898), 238-239.

was a city of massive inequality where the “top 10% controlled 40% of the community’s wealth and the bottom half possessed only about 10%.”<sup>30</sup> That bottom half contained the majority of the able-bodied workforce, the vast majority of whom either directly or indirectly depended upon the maritime economy. Though a few indentured servants and some enslaved Africans worked beside them, the bulk of the male work force consisted of “free unskilled labor,” which “performed the essential raw labor associated with construction and shipping” and constituted the backbone of the waterfront working population.<sup>31</sup>

The work of those men for West Indian orders was often interrupted by imperial wars, which began in 1689 and lasted throughout the colonial era. Those who survived the terrifying ordeal of war faced depreciated currency and inflation back in Boston. Britain’s naval war machinery required able-bodied men and the human cost in lives to satisfy imperial ambition was steep. About 20% of all able-bodied Massachusetts men participated in King Williams War (1689-1697) and Queen Anne’s War (1702-1713) and one out of every four died.<sup>32</sup> The survivors coming home to Boston to use their depreciated wages to buy the necessities of life; bread, clothing, shoes, etc. A potent combination of currency depreciation and price inflation plagued this turbulent era, receding briefly but re-emerging again in 1720 and lasting through 1740.<sup>33</sup>

During these years the volume of imports and exports from Boston increased, as did the population, but the depreciated currency and increasing competition from New York and Philadelphia merchants undercut Bostonians’ position as the main supplier of provisions to the

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<sup>30</sup> Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution*, 20.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, 16.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, 58.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, 111-116.

West Indies.<sup>34</sup> In addition, other merchants in ports from Falmouth, Maine to New London, Connecticut, actively sought to capture as much of this lucrative plantation market. Despite an economic expansion in the West Indies, the beginning of the 1720s looked particularly ominous for Boston's laboring population.<sup>35</sup> By 1722 the prices for European imports had "risen near 200 percent" according to one Bostonian, leading one observer to ask, "and what care the merchants how much damage they do the public, if they can but serve there own ends?"<sup>36</sup> That year things got even worse as food grew scarce after a severe drought hit Massachusetts.<sup>37</sup> The worst effects were suffered by the two largest groups representing the bottom 30% of Boston's population: seamen and widows.<sup>38</sup> Low wages in combination with depreciating currency squeezed many a man who had sailed to the West Indies. Widows, many of whom lost their husbands in the imperial wars, by land or by sea, or by the dangers of usual seafaring work, accounted for over 14% of Boston's population by 1699 and 16% by 1725.<sup>39</sup> In 1730 Governor Belcher clearly recognized that the economy of Boston, and Massachusetts more broadly, faced serious problems. That year he reported that the although the colony "was generally thought to be the greatest mart for all British manufactures of any of His Majesty's American Dominions," this

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 112-113. James G. Lydon, "Philadelphia's Commercial Expansion, 1720-1739," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Volume 91, No. 4 (October 1967), 401-418; Marc Egnal, "The Changing Structure of Philadelphia's Trade with the British West Indies," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Volume 99, No.2 (April 1975), 156-179.

<sup>35</sup> Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, 415-433, describes the West Indian expansion .

<sup>36</sup> *New England Courant*, December 7, 1724.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> As Nash noted, though some Captains and First Mates were able to accumulate a small estate by the time of their death this was beyond the reach of the majority of common sailors. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution*, 64.

<sup>39</sup> Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution*, 65.

was threatened by the “miserable state” of things. Belcher noted “how much public credit is sunk and the value of every man’s estate depreciated” owing to the continuous printing of money.<sup>40</sup>

Such a depressed state of affairs was the likely cause of a rapid escalation of drinking, as colonists attempted to drown out their miseries in a sea of rum, whether local or West Indian made. The amounts consumed by Massachusetts colonists alarmed Governor Belcher, who worried about “the great consumption...among the people of this province.”<sup>41</sup> The consequences, he found, led “to the debauching and ruining of themselves and their families.” Four years later things had not improved and “the decaying state of the trade of the province,” caused alarm at the highest levels of the colonial Government. One continuing problem was how importations constantly left the colonists with “a large balance” due “abroad” and seemingly no way to repay it.<sup>42</sup>

Customs records support Belcher’s estimate concerning trade imbalances. By the end of 1730 New England’s exports to England had totaled only £54,701 but imports amounted to £208,196, yielding a deficit with English merchants of £153,494, the single highest yearly deficit since record keeping began in 1697.<sup>43</sup> Since the bulk of the export and import trade in New England was dominated by Massachusetts, and concentrated in Boston, “the greatest mart for all British manufactures” as Belcher stated, a large portion of that record deficit originated in the port city. By the end of the decade the ravages of a declining economy, deficits, and stagnation

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<sup>40</sup> Governor Jonathan Belcher to the Gentlemen of the Council and House of Representatives, September 9, 1730, *Journal of the House of Representatives*, Volume 9: 1729-1731, p. 240-241.

<sup>41</sup> Governor Jonathan Belcher to the Gentlemen of the Council and House of Representatives, December 16, 1730, *Journal of the House of Representatives*, Volume 9: 1729-1731, p. 351-352

<sup>42</sup> Governor Jonathan Belcher to the Gentlemen of the Council and House of Representatives, May 31, 1734, *Journal of the House of Representatives*, Volume 12: 1734-1735, 9.

<sup>43</sup> For import and export data see Sir Charles Whitworth, *State of the Trade of Great Britain in its Imports and Exports, Progressively from the Year 1697* (London: G. Robinson, J. Robson, J. Walter, T. Cadell, J. Sewell, 1776), 63. Note, however, that these figures are in constant not current (adjusted) dollars. For further details on dollar adjustments see John McCusker, “Colonial Statistics,” in *Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to the Present*, Volume 5, Susan B. Carter, et al. eds. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 5-713.



transformed Boston into “the New England center of mass indebtedness, widowhood, and poverty.”<sup>44</sup> In fact, by 1742 nearly 30% of Boston’s adult women were widows.<sup>45</sup> The situation for the laboring poor during the “hard winter” of 1740-1741 was dire, owing to the “want of firewood.”<sup>46</sup> Yet ships continued to carry lumber products to the West Indies to supply the plantation system.

Rising food prices, especially for wheat, took a toll on the laboring classes of Boston because merchants chose to sell even the available food supplies to the West Indies to feed slaves in the “enemy” French islands rather than at home to their countrymen.<sup>47</sup> The lure of higher profits in the Caribbean trumped any shared sense of “Englishness” as the *Boston Evening Post* noted, “How surprising it is that for the sake of private gain his Majesty’s declared enemies should be thus openly assisted to destroy his subjects.”<sup>48</sup> Merchants likely shrugged off such comments; they had been selling commodities to the French, Dutch and Spanish West Indies almost from the beginning of their trading activities. Edward Randolph complained of this practice in 1680, reporting how Bostonians “violate all acts of trade and navigation, by which they have engrossed the greatest part of the West Indian trade.”<sup>49</sup> Indeed, Randolph asserted that by 1676 Boston had become “the mart town of the West Indies.”<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, Bostonians continued to illegally trade with the “foreign” West Indies and ignore the Navigation Acts throughout the colonial era.

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<sup>44</sup> Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution*, ix.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 172.

<sup>46</sup> Douglass, *A Summary*, Volume I, 542.

<sup>47</sup> Nash, 175-176.

<sup>48</sup> *Boston Evening Post*, February 1, 1748.

<sup>49</sup> “Mr. Randolph’s Representation of the Bostoneers, 1680,” in *Randolph Papers*, Volume III (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1898), 78-79.

<sup>50</sup> Edward Randolph to the Board of Trade, October 12, 1676 in the *Edward Randolph Papers*, Volume II (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1898), 247.

Despite their illegal trading activities in the West Indies, by the end of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1748 Bostonians faced a dire economic situation caused by the near collapse of the shipbuilding sector, as fewer ships were built for the West Indian, or any other Atlantic markets. Shipbuilding was considered by many to be “one of the greatest articles of trade and manufacture,” employing more than “thirty different denominations of tradesmen and artificers,” like shipwrights, riggers, etc.<sup>51</sup> However, this important sector experienced “gradual decay” as fewer vessels were built each year between 1714 and 1755.<sup>52</sup> Boston shipyards produced less while shipwrights in other New England ports produced more of their own vessels.<sup>53</sup> This represented a staggering loss of employment for everyone in Boston, especially for the laboring classes. As one observer wrote, “we were likely to have been carried into ruin, but it is hoped we may have better times.”<sup>54</sup>

Boston port records for 1753 reveal a brief shipbuilding boom in that year especially as the West Indian markets continued to expand and merchants needed more ships to bring provisions to sustain the plantation complex. Yet most of vessels were not built in Boston. Of the 444 ships built in 1753, 378 hailed from shipyards in Massachusetts and totaled 22,251 registered tons. This represented over 88% of all registered tonnage.<sup>55</sup> Boston built ships constituted 71 of these 378, totaling 6,643 tons and accounting for over 29% of all Massachusetts’ built tonnage. The largest number of ships, 118 in all and constituting 5,184 registered tons or over 23% of all Massachusetts’ built ships, were from shipyards in the Plymouth region: Hingham, Hull, Scituate, Hanover, Bridgewater, Pembroke, Marshfield,

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<sup>51</sup> Douglass, *A Summary*, Volume I, 539.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution*, 180-182

<sup>54</sup> Douglass, *A Summary*, Volume I, 537.

<sup>55</sup> Joseph A. Goldenberg, *Shipbuilding in Colonial America*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 151. What follows is drawn from his Table 5, pages 147-151.

Duxbury, Kingston, and Plymouth. Another significant shipbuilding area lay along the Northern border with New Hampshire where shipbuilders in scores of towns along the Merrimack River, led by Newbury with 59 ships totaling 4,130 registered tons. Nearby shipyards in Andover, Bradford, Haverhill, Amesbury and Salisbury, hummed with enough activity to produce more than 18% of the Massachusetts-built fleet. Another 94 ships, totaling 4,789 tons, were built in various other Massachusetts ports. Finally, 32 ships were built in Maine, primarily in Falmouth. Overall, about 70% of the ships listed in the port records for 1753 that were built in Massachusetts originated in ports outside the Boston area.

Despite the shipbuilding activity, overall, the economic situation in Boston and the surrounding maritime economies by 1755 was precarious. One observer noted how “our trade is not half as much so much and our taxes from thirty to forty times more than they were a few years ago.”<sup>56</sup> According to one account, during the few years prior to 1755 “our cod-fishery, whaling and ship-building have failed much.”<sup>57</sup> The outbreak of the Seven Years War in 1754 confirmed these fears as Boston’s shipbuilding output fell to 2,162 tons.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, after the British navy established maritime supremacy by the end of 1759, Boston-based vessels made their way to the West Indies with little concern about French warships.<sup>59</sup>

Following the conclusion of the Seven Years War in the early 1760s the economic situation improved unevenly in Boston, and trade with the West Indies declined. The population slowly rose to reach the size it had in 1740.<sup>60</sup> Ship tonnage clearing outward increased from a

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<sup>56</sup> Douglass, *A Summary*, Volume I, 537.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, 537.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, 540.

<sup>59</sup> According to Fred Anderson, by the end of 1759 Britain’s navy had “swept the sea” of the French. See Fred Anderson, *The Crucible of War: the Seven Years War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York: Alfred A. Knoph, 2000), 377-384, 454.

<sup>60</sup> Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution*, 313.

low of 21,316 tons in 1755 to a high of 27,524 in 1762, part of an upward, if slightly erratic trend between these years.<sup>61</sup> Tonnage figures clearing for the West Indies fell from over 10,000 tons in 1753-1754 to less than 7,000 tons in 1761 before rising to more than 8,000 tons in 1762 and 1763 (Table 6.2).<sup>62</sup> On average, tonnage to the West Indies accounted for 35% between 1753 and 1764, while the coastal trade was 44%.<sup>63</sup> The general decline of the West Indian trade stemmed from the continued pressure from competitors in other New England port towns, and even the minor recovery in this market was threatened by the passage of the Sugar Act in 1763 and the new state personnel preparing to enforce it.<sup>64</sup>

Moreover, even the slight rise in the West Indian market favored only a few in Boston: “the top 5% of inventoried estates controlled about as much wealth as the other 95% combined.”<sup>65</sup> The bulk of the population, including the maritime workforce, faced an uncertain future: “Half of the people died with less than £40 personal wealth and one quarter with £20 or less.”<sup>66</sup> These were the broad contours of the economic situation in Boston by the mid 1760s: extreme inequality and a concentration of wealth, with about one-third of the export sector dependent upon the West Indies.

Having described the general pattern of exports from Boston until the mid-1760s we now turn to the five years between 1768 and 1772 to provide an analysis of vessels, tonnage, cargoes and their values in order to reveal the relative importance of each major export sector: the coastal

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<sup>61</sup> Lawson, “The Routes of Boston’s Trade,” Table 1, page 87. Though these figures do not include the intra-New England trade.

<sup>62</sup> These are my estimates based on Lawson, though I only use the years for which we have complete data. See Ibid, 87.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 87. Tonnage clearing for Great Britain accounted for about 13%; to Southern Europe 5% and to Africa less than 1%.

<sup>64</sup> Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution*, 246-247.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 257.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, 257-258.

trade, Great Britain, Southern Europe, Africa and the West Indies. Such an overview will help situate the comparative magnitude and importance of the slave economies of the Caribbean.

Between 1768 and 1772 nearly one out of every five of the 3,882 vessels that cleared out from Boston for ports across the Atlantic was bound for the West Indies.<sup>67</sup> (Table 6.3) Overall, however, the bulk of ships leaving Boston harbor headed along the coastal trade, landing at ports from Canada to the Floridas. Coastal destinations accounted for 70% of all voyages. More than 23% of these 2,732 coastal voyages were to the slave colonies of the South: of the 902 clearances nearly half were to North Carolina, where ship captains exchanged English and West Indian goods for naval stores. North Carolina's slave labor force produced record amounts of tar, pitch, and pine, three essentials in the maintenance of every ship.<sup>68</sup> Almost the same number of clearances went to Maryland and Virginia, 177 and 179, respectively, each representing more than 4% of all voyages and slightly less than one out of every five voyages to the southern slave colonies. Finally, there were ninety-four voyages to South Carolina, nineteen to Georgia, four to East Florida and two to West Florida.

After southern slave ports the next largest destination for ships clearing Boston was much closer to home; other New England docks. More than one out of every five voyages, 819 in total which represented 21% overall, was an intra-New England journey. These were dominated by voyages to Connecticut which accounted for over 12% of all voyages made from Boston, and 59% of all intra-New England voyages. In all, four hundred and eighty-three voyages were made

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<sup>67</sup> This does not include the thirty-one voyages to the Bahamas or three to Bermuda.

<sup>68</sup> As Justin Williams noted, "the naval stores industry was the foundation of the economy of North Carolina" and as Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee Cary make clear, that industry was almost exclusively worked by enslaved Africans. See Justin Williams, "English Mercantilism and Carolina Naval Stores, 1705-1776," *William and Mary Quarterly*, (May 1935), 169-185, the quote is on page 169, and Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee Cary, *Slavery in North Carolina, 1748-1775* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995). The most recent, and best exploration of this topic can be found in Robert B. Outland III, *Tapping the Pines: The Naval Stores Industry in the American South* (Baton Rouge : Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 8-34.

to either New London or New Haven, with trips to the former far outnumbering those to the latter. One hundred and eighty-eight Boston based voyages were made to Rhode Island and one hundred and forty-eight were made to Portsmouth, New Hampshire.<sup>69</sup>

For the next two outlying regions north and south from Boston, Canada and the Middle Colonies, there was less outward traffic. Slightly more than 15% of the Boston-based ships headed farther north to Canadian ports, making 606 voyages. Nova Scotia was the primary destination, with 314 voyages, accounting for 8% of all voyages and over half of all clearances to Canada. Newfoundland was next, with 233 clearances or 6% overall. Finally, fifty trips were made to Quebec and nine vessels headed to the Island of St. John. Fewer ships steered for the Middle Colonies; three hundred and seventy one, or less than 10% of all voyages. Philadelphia was the most frequent destination; 228 clearances accounting for more than 61% of all voyages to the Middle Colonies. By comparison, one hundred and forty clearances were made to the port of New York but only three to New Jersey.

Trans-Atlantic voyages represented the smallest number of clearances, more than 10% of all voyages. Of the 415 trans-Atlantic voyages made from Boston, three hundred and five, including four to Ireland, headed for Great Britain. Although unpredictable weather might impact the 2,850 miles of crossing time, in general these voyages took about 52 days.<sup>70</sup> Ninety clearances were to Southern Europe and the Wine Islands.

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<sup>69</sup> Customs officials did not record any intra-Massachusetts voyages but other sources clearly reveal their regular occurrence. See the discussion in the chapters on Falmouth and Salem and Marblehead for more details. Recent scholarship has also recognized this traffic. See Daniel Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea, Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 71-72; Alex Roland, W. Jeffrey Bolster, Alexander Keyssar, *The Way of the Ship: America's Maritime History Re-envisioned, 1600-2000* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2008), 69-71.

<sup>70</sup> Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675-1740* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 57. As Steele points out on page 58 the return trip took longer as ships battled against the Westerly winds in a trip that was "against nature most of the year."

Although comparatively Bostonians were minor participants in the slave trade, making twenty voyages to Africa, less than 1% of all voyages, their importance was not reducible to pound sterling.<sup>71</sup> Instead, these slaving trips exposed the hypocrisy flowing from some Boston radicals decrying “slavery” over unfair taxation and representation during the “imperial crisis” between 1764 and 1774.<sup>72</sup> In fact, more than 44% of all slaving voyages made from Boston throughout the eighteenth century occurred during this decade.<sup>73</sup> Bostonians were actually increasing their slave trading, not decreasing it, in the years prior to proclaiming “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”

Although only twenty percent of all ship clearances from Boston were to the West Indies, a larger percentage of registered tonnage, twenty-five percent or 47,212 tons, went to the Caribbean (Table 6.4). Conversely, though over seventy percent of all ship clearances were to other ports along British North America they only accounted for fifty-four percent of all registered tonnage: 101,740 tons.<sup>74</sup> Tonnage to Great Britain was significant: 30,882 tons,

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<sup>71</sup> Using the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* I have determined that there were twenty-two voyages to Africa from Boston during this time. David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Hereafter abbreviated as *TSTD*.

<sup>72</sup> For example, in May, 1764, the Boston Selectmen complained “if taxes are laid upon us in any shape without ever having a legal representation where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves?” See City Document 88 in *A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston* (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1886), 120-122. The use of “slavery” as a political metaphor is more broadly analyzed in F. Nwabbeze Okoye, “Chattel Slavery as the Nightmare of the American Revolutionaries,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Jan. 1980), 4-28. See also Patricia Bradley, *Slavery, Propaganda and the American Revolution* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998). I explore these ideas more fully in the last chapter.

<sup>73</sup> Slaving voyages clearing out from Boston in the eighteenth century began infrequently. Before 1726, there were only three: one in 1700, one in 1707, and one in 1711. After fifteen years of inactivity, two slaving voyages occurred every other year between 1726 and 1736. Interrupted by imperial warfare, slaving voyages were irregular – until 1760, when they began to intensify in frequency until 1775, when British troops under the authority of the Boston Port Act shut down Boston. Though minor in comparison with the slave-trading activities operating from Rhode Island, Bostonians participation in the slave trade has largely gone unnoticed in the secondary literature. The data about slaving voyages from Boston is derived from the *TSTD*.

<sup>74</sup> This does not include the 810 tons to the Bahamas or the 130 tons to Bermuda. See Table 4.

constituting over 16% overall, and the most significant amount of trans-Atlantic tonnage.<sup>75</sup> Only 4,895 tons went to Southern European ports while 1,597 tons went to Africa for the slave trade. Within the coastal trade along British North America the third most significant amount of tonnage went to North Carolina: 17,349 tons. Over 9% of all the tonnage clearing Boston went to one of North Carolina's five major ports: Currituck, Roanoke, Bath, Beaufort or Brunswick.<sup>76</sup> This was part of a larger movement of tonnage from Boston to the southern slave ports.

Over twenty percent of all the tonnage clearing Boston headed to ports in the southern slave colonies, 39,287 tons in all, and North Carolina represented over 44% of this contingent. Tonnage to South Carolina, by contrast, was rather small, only 4,201 tons, just over 2% overall and 10% of all tonnage heading to the south. In the upper south, Virginia received 8,994 tons and Maryland 7,583 tons, both less than 5% overall but 21% and 19% respectively of all southern tonnage. Small amounts went to Georgia, 885 tons; East Florida, 225 tons; and West Florida, 50 tons.

The next two largest areas; Canada and New England, received similar amounts of tonnage. About 13% of all tonnage, 24,492 tons in all, cleared Boston for Canadian ports, with similar amounts going to Newfoundland: 11,463 tons, and Nova Scotia: 10,416 tons. Only 2,300 tons went to Quebec and 313 tons to the Island of St. Johns. Intra-New England tonnage, 22,693 tons in all, was dominated by a Boston – Connecticut movement in which 13,357 tons, over 58% of all intra-New England tonnage, headed to New Haven and New London. The remaining tonnage to Rhode Island and New Hampshire was roughly equivalent, 4,853 tons to the former and 4,483 to the latter.

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<sup>75</sup> This does not include the 400 tons to Ireland. See Table 4.

<sup>76</sup> For some discussion of North Carolina ports see Harry Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century; A Study in Historical Geography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964).



Regionally, the smallest tonnage in the coastwise trade was to the Middle Colonies, 15,268. However, this was largely a Boston to Philadelphia movement as almost 72%, 10,982 tons in all, went there. Only 4,175 tons went to New York and 111 tons to the Jerseys.

Having analyzed the voyages and tonnages leaving Boston, we turn to the cargoes and their respective values to assess the importance of the West Indian trade. However, because the 1768-1772 customs data for specific commodities (cargoes) was only organized into five broad regional categories, the level of specificity employed earlier with regards to individual ports is not possible. Instead, I have provided detailed listings of every commodity exported to these five major regions: Africa, Great Britain and Ireland, Southern Europe and the Wine Islands, Coastal, and the West Indies, and quantified their respective values, using a wide source base of prices culled from newspapers and merchant account books to provide a comprehensive comparative analysis of the value of Boston's export trade.

The only existing similar study of the value of various exports, by James Shepherd, contained two significant limitations.<sup>77</sup> First, his analysis did not separate Boston from the other two official Massachusetts ports: Salem and Marblehead (which were themselves grouped under one port) and Falmouth in the province of Maine. As a result, the relative amount of exports clearing Boston, as a percentage of the total exports from Massachusetts, has remained unknown. Thus, the relative amount of exports clearing to the West Indies from Boston has remained elusive. Second, his analysis completely excluded the coastal trade, which was a significant export market and re-exported West Indian commodities were the most valuable component of

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<sup>77</sup> James F. Shepherd, *Commodity Exports from the British North American Colonies to Overseas Areas, 1768-1772: Magnitudes and Patterns of Trade*, Paper No. 258 – October, 1969, Institute for Research in the Behavioral, Economic and Management Sciences (Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University, 1969), which became the basis for his joint work with Gary Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

this sector, as is discussed below.<sup>78</sup> Even his later work with Gary Walton specifically on the coastal trade used a regional analysis which precluded estimating the relative value of exports clearing from Boston, or any other New England port.<sup>79</sup>

The largest export area, in terms of value, was the coastal trade but a majority of this value was created through the re-export of West Indian or West Indian derived sugar commodities. The total value of the exports for the coastal trade between 1768 and 1772 was £577,618 (Table 6.5). Of this, £339,007 or almost 59%, was derived from the re-export of fourteen West Indian commodities. If these exports were considered separately as their own category they would have constituted over 22% of the total value of *all* exports from Boston (Table 6.11).

Exports in the coastal trade included one hundred and seventy one items but in terms of value, the triad of rum, molasses and sugar represented almost 55% of the total value of all coastal exports. They also constituted more than 92% of the value of all re-exported West Indian commodities (Table 6.6).<sup>80</sup> New-England made rum was the single most valuable item of the three; worth £183,138 and comprising nearly 54% of the value of all re-exported West Indian commodities and more than 31% of all commodities exported in the coastal trade. Precisely how

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<sup>78</sup> One additional decision Shepherd made, to focus only on fourteen commodities rather than the full listing recorded in the Customs Records (which varied depending upon the region since not all items were shipped to all places) since he estimated that these constituted 85% of the export value appears correct – but only in the case of export value clearing Boston. As the previous chapters have argued, this was not the case for the other New England colonies. Shepherd's chosen commodities included: beef and pork, bread and flour, spermaceti candles, dried fish, Indian corn, rice, hoops, iron bars, cattle, horses, whale oil, wine, pine boards, and staves and headings. In the Customs Records items like lumber were often broken down into specific sub-types, like Black Walnut, Oak, Pine, etc. and each had different market values. This was also true of furs, skins, and other select commodities. Thus, depending on how one "counts" these will have an impact on the results generated. I have combined furs and skins (which were relatively small in quantity exported and value) and separated out lumber products (which were not). For the full list, see Table 5, or the original groupings found in the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

<sup>79</sup> James F. Shepherd and Samuel H. Williamson, "The Coastal Trade of the British North American Colonies, 1768-1772," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 32, No. 4, (December 1972), 783-810.

<sup>80</sup> The remaining eight percent came from the other nine re-exported West Indian commodities: chocolate, cocoa, coffee, cotton, ginger, indigo, lignum vitae, limes, and salt. See Table 6.

many of the 2,953,839 gallons were produced locally in Boston versus in other neighboring New England colonies remains uncertain. However, by 1770 there were at least fifty-one distilleries in Massachusetts and thirty-six in Boston alone.<sup>81</sup> Thus, a very large amount, certainly the majority, was made in Boston and the greater Boston region. Much less rum produced in the West Indies was re-exported: 144,008 gallons valued at £14,400, comprising over 4% of the total value of all re-exported West Indian commodities. Over 1.8 million gallons of molasses, the key ingredient in making rum, were loaded onto ships clearing Boston for coastal destinations and were worth £92,513. Sugar, the primary item which eventually became rum and/or molasses, was exported in two classifications: loose brown sugar and (clayed, in forms) white sugar loaves.<sup>82</sup> Over one million pounds of brown sugar were packed in hogsheads and loaded aboard ships and were worth £92,513. By contrast, the 222,213 pounds of sugar loaves were worth £6,888. The remaining one hundred and fifty seven non-West Indian derived commodities exported in the coastal trade were worth £238,611. However, despite the variety of items, ten comprised more than 83% of this value (Table 6.5).

After the coastal trade, dominated by re-exported West Indian products and their derivatives, exports from Boston to Great Britain were the most valuable, worth £468,053 and constituting over 30% of the total value of all exports (Table 6.7). The eight re-exported West Indian items or their derivatives constituted less than one percent of the value. In fact, the 122,300 frunnels, wooden nails used in shipbuilding, were worth more. The meager re-export of West Indian goods from Boston is hardly surprising given the extensive direct trading that

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<sup>81</sup> John McCusker, "The Rum Trade and the Balance of Payments of the Thirteen Continental Colonies, 1650-1775, pts. 1-2," (PhD University of Pittsburgh, 1970), 438.

<sup>82</sup> The differences between these two forms, including the specific techniques in making both, are covered in Jonathan Williams, "On the Process of Claying Sugar," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 6, (1809), 82-87.

existed between the Caribbean islands and Great Britain. Instead of slave-produced goods, Bostonians primarily loaded their ships with four items which comprised over 89% of the value of exports to Great Britain: whale oil, potash, pearl ash, and whale fins (Table 6.7). As a group, products derived from whales were the single most valuable item. Whale oil, used in lighting, was exported in large quantities: 14,355 tons, worth £215,325, constituted nearly 46% of the value of all exports to Great Britain.<sup>83</sup> Whale fins were also sent across the Atlantic, 197,853 pounds worth £33,437 or over 7% of the value of exports to Great Britain. The other two items, pearl ash and pot ash, were each worth £107,820 and £60,480, respectively, and the former represented nearly 23% of the total value of all exports to Great Britain while the latter represented almost 13%.

Exports to the West Indies comprised over one quarter of the value of all exports from Boston and were worth £264,615 (Table 6.8). Although Boston ships were loaded with eighty-five separate items, ten constituted over 93% of the total value. The single most valuable commodity, worth £128,443 and accounting for nearly one-third the value of all items shipped to the slave labor plantations, was fish. As detailed in the Salem and Marblehead chapter, this was an important food source for the slave populations working the plantations. Almost 291,000 quintals were in the cargo holds of ships leaving Boston for the West Indies. Packed nearby were over 30,000 barrels of pickled fish, worth £22,807 and accounting for nearly 6% of the total value of all exports to the islands. Since customs officials did not record intra-colonial shipments, estimating the total amount of fish that arrived via Salem and Marblehead remains impossible. However, other evidence suggests that few, if any, fishing fleets operated from

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<sup>83</sup> Gerald S. Graham, "The Migrations of the Nantucket Whale Fishery: An Episode in British Colonial Policy," *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 2, (June 1935), 179-202 highlights the importance of whale oil in lamps.

Boston at this time and that the vast majority of fish came from those two ports.<sup>84</sup> In addition, coastal trade data indicates that Boston was a net importer of a substantial amount of dried cod fish. Regardless of their precise origin, ships clearing from Boston loaded with dried fish accounted for 27% of all the fish exported to the West Indies from British North America between 1768 and 1772, the second largest after those from Salem and Marblehead.<sup>85</sup>

Another marine life-form transformed into a commodity for sale in the West Indies were whales; their brains were literally used to bring the sugar plantations to light. George Walker of Barbados stated that “whale oil was necessary...for the many lamps in the sugar works.”<sup>86</sup> Boston merchants supplied a steady amount to make sure the plantation system could run at night with artificial lighting. This was crucial in allowing the plantation to run continuously during the harvest period, since cut cane “spoils unless it is processed within a few hours.”<sup>87</sup> Enslaved Africans working through the night across the West Indian plantation complex depended upon artificial lighting and lamps filled with whale oil supplied from Boston were the second largest source after Rhode Island. White oil, known as “Bank,” was obtained by opening the head of a sperm whale, and emptying out the “white waxy substance found in the cranial

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<sup>84</sup> The report entitled ‘State of Cod-Fishery of Massachusetts, from 1765 to 1775’ in *Report of the Secretary of State on the Subject of the Cod and Whale Fisheries* February 1, 1791, U.S. Department of State, (Philadelphia: Childs & Swaine, 1791) does not list Boston among the twenty Massachusetts towns supplying cod fish to the West Indies during this time. Even a purported attempt to start a fishing venture operating from Deer Island in Boston harbor by the “Proprietors of Point Shirley,” in 1757-8 apparently went nowhere. Their fishing vessels were captured by French ships during the war and the Boston selectmen refused to renew their lease of the island. See *A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, Containing the Boston Town Records, 1758 to 1769*, (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, City Printers, 1886.), 15-16. Finally, consider the testimony of Brook Watson, a merchant with knowledge of “the fisheries of North America” who testified to Parliament that men from Marblehead, Salem and Cape Ann, constituted “the greater part” of those conducting the cod fishery. He never mentioned Boston once in his testimony. Testimony of Brook Watson, in *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament Respecting North America, Volume 5: 1754-1783*, eds. R.C. Simmons and P.D.G. Thomas (White Plains, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1986), 488.

<sup>85</sup> My calculations based on the data in the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

<sup>86</sup> Testimony of George Walker in *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament Respecting North America, Volume 5: 1754-1783*, eds. R.C. Simmons and P.D.G. Thomas (White Plains, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1986), 560.

<sup>87</sup> Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 191.

cavities.”<sup>88</sup> To produce sufficient oil supplies whalers killed an unknown number of whales to produce the 299-plus tons valued at £4,485 that were exported to the West Indies between 1768 and 1772.

An ever rising number of whaling ships and crews were needed to supply West Indian shipments and these were built and operated from Massachusetts, though the majority were based not in Boston but on the small island of Nantucket. Seth Jenkins, a resident and expert on the whaling industry, estimated that by 1775 “the whole number of the whale fishery ships” was 309, of which 249, representing more than 80%, were from Massachusetts ports.<sup>89</sup> Nantucket was the leading center for whaling and the largest fleet operated from there; 132 ships, followed by fifty-five from Dartmouth, in the New Bedford area. Boston was home to the third largest number of ships; Jenkins testified, with “forty eight from Boston Bay.” Another eight came from Falmouth, on Cape Cod and six more hailed from Martha’s Vineyard.

Despite the use of whale brain fluid for oil to power lamps, an even larger amount was refined further and manufactured into spermaceti candles – which offered an easier and cheaper form of artificial lighting for the nighttime plantation operations. Although Rhode Island was the dominant center of candle production, as explained in the Rhode Island chapter, there were several candle-works in Boston and at least one in Nantucket and one in New Bedford by 1772.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> James Hedges, *The Browns of Providence Plantations: The Colonial Years* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1968) 88.

<sup>89</sup> Testimony of Seth Jenkins, in *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament Respecting North America, Volume 5: 1754-1783*, eds. R.C. Simmons and P.D.G. Thomas (White Plains, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1986), 495. All the data given in this paragraph is from Jenkins.

<sup>90</sup> Hedges, *The Browns of Providence Plantations: The Colonial Years*, 86-122 and Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery from its Earliest Inception to the Year 1876* (Waltham, Massachusetts: Printed by the author, 1878), 152-153.

Exports from Boston totaled 279,925 lbs, comprising nearly 19% of all spermaceti candles exported to the West Indies from British North America, and generating £17,355.<sup>91</sup>

Boston ships were packed with another key item sustaining the plantation complex besides lighting supplies: wood, the primary building materials for the mills, processing houses, carts, wharves, warehouses and other structures. The primary commodity functioning in this regard was pine boards and plank; almost nineteen million board feet were loaded on vessels clearing Boston. These accounted for over 9% of the total value of all exports to the West Indies and were worth £24,621. Ships from Boston carried almost 10% of the total amount of pine boards and plank exported from American ports to the West Indies. The precise origin of this wood remains uncertain due to source limitations. Some may have arrived from the Merrimack valley region, where the shipbuilding towns of Newbury, Newburyport, Amesbury, Salisbury, and others were already equipped with sawmills to aid the busy shipwrights along the Merrimack River. Since the heavy weight precluded large land carriage as an option, we can probably rule out timber from the deep interior part of central Massachusetts. If the coastal trade figures are reliable, Bostonians were not net importers of pine board, otherwise New Hampshire, the leading supplier of pine board in all of British North America, would have been the most likely source.<sup>92</sup> Some wood likely came from Maine where sawmills were at work in the Falmouth area, the Piscataqua region in Berwick, York, etc. and along various Atlantic port towns which emerged in the 1760s and early 1770s dotting the Kennebec, Saco and other Maine rivers.<sup>93</sup> Because this was technically an intra-colonial trade, customs officials did not record the massive import of

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<sup>91</sup> See Table 5 in chapter two on Rhode Island.

<sup>92</sup> Of course it is possible that some amount of pine board did arrive via New Hampshire but was not declared.

<sup>93</sup> I detailed the sawmill and timber trades in both chapters four and seven.

timber from one section to another, they only recorded the high volume exported to the slave labor plantations in the West Indies.

Other key items made from wood exported from Boston to the West Indies included 1.8 million staves and 2.2 million hoops, both of which were used in the assembly of barrels to hold sugar, molasses, rum, and other slave produced goods. Another shipping container was exported as well, shook hogsheads, which were essentially ready-to-use shipping barrels. Sixty thousand were loaded onto vessels bound for the islands. Finally, 12 million shingles, necessary to re-roof various buildings at the plantations or perhaps along the various waterfronts, were also packed in the cargo holds of ships. Every building in the West Indies required constant maintenance due to yearly hurricanes, as well as general decay brought on by the weather.

In contrast to the large exports sent to the West Indies, Boston ships carried few items to Southern Europe and the Wine Islands. Total exports were valued at £61,724 and represented 4% of the total value of all exports from Boston (Table 6.11). The single most valuable commodity was dried cod, accounting for over 61% of the total value. There was only one West-Indian derived commodity exported: rum, which accounted for more than 8% of the total value and was worth £5,165. The remaining value of exports derived from a range of commodities; including Indian corn, bread and flour, staves and heading, wheat and other assorted products.

The final trans-Atlantic export area to analyze is Africa, more specifically West Africa, where the twenty or so Boston guineamen (slave ships) brought £29,140 worth of commodities to exchange for slaves.<sup>94</sup> Slave ships had been launched from Boston throughout the eighteenth century. Slaves were purchased largely with New England made rum, likely processed in one of

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<sup>94</sup> As noted earlier, the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK materials record twenty voyages to Africa while the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database lists twenty-two.



the thirty one distillers operating in Boston. The twenty voyages made to Africa from Boston held cargoes filled with 403,123 gallons of rum, worth £24,993 and representing more than 85% of the value of exports (Table 6.10). Although Boston had a steady slave population between 1764 and 1776,<sup>95</sup> the majority of the slaves purchased in West Africa were sold in the West Indies.

Bostonians sold people in the Caribbean without hesitation; the same way they sold fish and lumber products to sustain the plantation complex. The slave labor islands were more than an export market, however, as profits accumulated there provided the means by which Bostonians partially paid off their considerable debts generated by the steady purchase of English goods. Such transactions were interrupted by incessant imperial wars, which drained the town of men, and contributed to an economic climate of depreciated currency and inflation. Despite these challenging conditions, men headed off on merchant vessels bound for the West Indies – whether British or “foreign” – in ever rising numbers as the eighteenth century progressed, though few managed to acquire much in the way of wealth as a result of their efforts. Though contemporaries and scholars have noted the importance of the West Indies in analyzing Boston’s colonial economy a precise evaluation has remained elusive. The only existing estimates subsumed Boston within Massachusetts and neglected the coastal trade, which, if considered separately, was the largest export market in terms of value. Moreover, the majority of the value was generated by the re-export of West Indian commodities. If this portion of the coastal trade is combined with direct exports from Boston to the Caribbean, then the value of the

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<sup>95</sup> Although year to year census data for Boston does not exist, the listing of deaths between 1704 and 1774 provides a crude but indicative window into the slave population of Boston. See the “Statement of the Deaths, Baptisms, and Marriages, in Boston, from 1704 to 1774” in *First Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston* (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1876), Appendix, 11-12. According to the 1754 Census, Boston had 989 slaves “above sixteen years old” and, by the 1764 Census, 848. See Massachusetts Census 1763-1765, reprinted in *Collections of the American Statistical Association, Volume I: Part II, Containing Statistics of Population in Massachusetts*, prepared by Joseph B. Felt, (Boston: T.R. Marvin, 1847), 208, 211.

slave labor regimes becomes even larger, accounting for 43% of the total value of all exports between 1768 and 1772. If we add the African trade then the figure rises to 45%. Slave labor was at the very foundation of Boston's colonial economy, as enslaved Africans working the sugar plantations produced the raw materials which eventually became molasses and rum – the mainstays of the coastal trade. Similarly, the wider plantation complex required fish and lumber stocks to support the mono-culture production system.

Table 6-1 Vessels Clearing Boston: Selected Years 1753 – 1764

Destination	1753	1754	1755	1756	1759	1761	1762	1764
	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V
Newfoundland	36	36	24	17	15	25	24	33
Quebec	0	0	0	0	1	27	6	5
Nova Scotia	51	42	57	69	148	64	63	39
<b>Canada</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>77</b>
New York	51	42	57	69	148	64	63	39
New Jersey	17	16	8	17	11	8	14	16
Pennsylvania	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Delaware	39	36	23	30	17	29	43	27
<b>Middle Colonies</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>82</b>
Maryland	2	1	2	2	1	0	0	0
Virginia	27	25	15	13	24	42	51	30
<b>Chesapeake</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>30</b>
North Carolina	13	14	9	12	9	9	22	20
South Carolina	61	49	61	44	41	38	68	51
Georgia	15	15	5	8	6	10	20	16
Florida	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3
<b>Lower South</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>90</b>
Bermuda	3	0	3	0	4	4	1	1
Bahamas	5	5	1	0	4	5	9	7
<b>Islands</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>Southern Europe</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>Africa</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>

**Table 6-1 (continued)**

<b>West Indies</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>113</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>536</b>	<b>523</b>	<b>461</b>	<b>487</b>	<b>619</b>	<b>490</b>	<b>563</b>	<b>480</b>

**Source:** Data derived from Murray G. Lawson, "The Routes of Boston's Trade, 1752-1765," Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Transactions, 1947-1951* (Boston, 1959), 81-120.

**Table 6-2 Tonnage Clearing Boston: Selected Years 1753 – 1764**

<b>Destination</b>	<b>1753</b>	<b>1754</b>	<b>1755</b>	<b>1756</b>	<b>1759</b>	<b>1761</b>	<b>1762</b>	<b>1764</b>
	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>
Newfoundland	1,696	2,056	1,205	761	893	1,090	1,172	1,952
Quebec	0	0	0	0	75	1,236	273	190
Nova Scotia	2,243	1,705	2,333	2,865	5,550	2,428	2,561	1,600
<b>Canada</b>	<b>3,939</b>	<b>3,761</b>	<b>3,538</b>	<b>3,626</b>	<b>6,518</b>	<b>4,754</b>	<b>4,006</b>	<b>3,742</b>
New York	529	515	159	505	413	295	790	714
New Jersey	0	0	0	0	0	30	0	0
Pennsylvania	1,707	1,545	904	1,340	865	1,575	1,964	1,518
Delaware	65	50	32	55	0	0	0	0
<b>Middle Colonies</b>	<b>2,301</b>	<b>2,110</b>	<b>1,095</b>	<b>1,900</b>	<b>1,278</b>	<b>1,900</b>	<b>2,754</b>	<b>2,232</b>
Maryland	1,146	1,065	548	426	1,051	1,806	2,197	1,302
Virginia	700	563	402	655	308	350	1,040	1,032
<b>Chesapeake</b>	<b>1,846</b>	<b>1,628</b>	<b>950</b>	<b>1,081</b>	<b>1,359</b>	<b>2,156</b>	<b>3,237</b>	<b>2,334</b>
North Carolina	2,467	2,178	2,514	1,646	1,725	1,774	2,891	2,651
South Carolina	900	1,186	335	805	360	705	920	1,480
Georgia	0	0	0	0	0	70	35	130
Florida	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Lower South</b>	<b>3,367</b>	<b>3,364</b>	<b>2,849</b>	<b>2,451</b>	<b>2,085</b>	<b>2,549</b>	<b>3,846</b>	<b>4,261</b>
Bermudas	165	0	80	0	185	10	30	30
Bahamas	240	260	50	0	146	160	243	255
<b>Islands</b>	<b>405</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>331</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>273</b>	<b>285</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>3,552</b>	<b>2,855</b>	<b>2,950</b>	<b>2,798</b>	<b>1,988</b>	<b>2,988</b>	<b>3,562</b>	<b>5,303</b>
<b>Southern Europe</b>	<b>1,678</b>	<b>2,170</b>	<b>1,803</b>	<b>1,810</b>	<b>467</b>	<b>755</b>	<b>913</b>	<b>937</b>
<b>Africa</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>225</b>

**Table 6-2 (continued)**

<b>West Indies</b>	<b>10,130</b>	<b>10,506</b>	<b>7,951</b>	<b>9,271</b>	<b>9,219</b>	<b>6,722</b>	<b>8,385</b>	<b>8,205</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>27,273</b>	<b>26,729</b>	<b>21,266</b>	<b>22,937</b>	<b>23,385</b>	<b>22,229</b>	<b>27,236</b>	<b>27,524</b>

**Source:** Data derived from Murray G. Lawson, "The Routes of Boston's Trade, 1752-1765," Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Transactions, 1947-1951* (Boston, 1959), 81-120.

**Table 6-3 Vessels Clearing Boston: 1768-1772**

	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	<b>1768-1772</b>	<b>1768-1772</b>
<b>Destination</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Great Britain	67	66	56	55	57	<b>301</b>	7.7
Ireland	2	1	0	0	1	<b>4</b>	>1
Europe	22	20	15	22	11	<b>90</b>	2.3
Africa	0	5	6	4	5	<b>20</b>	>1
West Indies	147	143	131	136	178	<b>735</b>	19
Newfoundland	41	37	43	45	67	<b>233</b>	6
Quebec	8	11	10	10	11	<b>50</b>	>1
Island of St. John	0	0	0	5	4	<b>9</b>	>1
Nova Scotia	43	78	69	65	59	<b>314</b>	8
New Hampshire	8	27	30	45	38	<b>148</b>	3.8
Connecticut	21	117	133	114	98	<b>483</b>	12.4
Rhode Island	12	53	50	33	40	<b>188</b>	4.8
New York	13	42	32	20	33	<b>140</b>	3.6
Jerseys	1	1	0	1	0	<b>3</b>	>1
Pennsylvania	38	54	55	44	37	<b>228</b>	5.8
Maryland	40	30	33	32	42	<b>177</b>	4.5
Virginia	27	47	39	39	27	<b>179</b>	4.6
North Carolina	100	62	78	85	102	<b>427</b>	11
South Carolina	14	18	12	26	24	<b>94</b>	2.4
Georgia	7	6	2	2	2	<b>19</b>	>1
East Florida	0	3	1	0	0	<b>4</b>	>1
West Florida	1	1	0	0	0	<b>2</b>	>1
Bahamas	0	6	5	12	8	<b>31</b>	>1
Bermuda	0	1	0	1	1	<b>3</b>	>1
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>612</b>	<b>829</b>	<b>800</b>	<b>796</b>	<b>845</b>	<b>3,882</b>	99.6

**Source:** Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 6-4 Tonnage Clearing Boston: 1768 – 1772**

	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	<b>1768-1772</b>	<b>1768-1772</b>
<b>Destination</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Great Britain	6,428	6,707	5,819	5,750	6,178	<b>30,882</b>	16.4
Ireland	170	60	0	0	170	<b>400</b>	>1
Europe	1,333	1,081	813	1,113	555	<b>4,895</b>	2.6
Africa	0	495	415	267	420	<b>1,597</b>	>1
West Indies	10,095	8,995	8,248	9,171	10,703	<b>47,212</b>	25
Newfoundland	2,068	1,682	1,708	2,275	3,730	<b>11,463</b>	6.1
Quebec	145	520	530	495	610	<b>2,300</b>	1.2
Island of St. John	0	0	0	173	140	<b>313</b>	>1
Nova Scotia	1,975	993	2,634	2,627	2,187	<b>10,416</b>	5.5
New Hampshire	331	727	930	1,328	1,167	<b>4,483</b>	2.3
Connecticut	618	3,181	3,709	3,016	2,833	<b>13,357</b>	7.1
Rhode Island	396	1,171	1,423	776	1,087	<b>4,853</b>	2.5
New York	380	1,221	919	619	1,036	<b>4,175</b>	2.2
Jerseys	21	60	0	30	0	<b>111</b>	>1
Pennsylvania	396	2,575	3,305	2,485	2,221	<b>10,982</b>	5.8
Maryland	1,716	1,193	1,280	1,419	1,975	<b>7,583</b>	4
Virginia	1,116	2,370	1,340	2,058	2,110	<b>8,994</b>	4.7
North Carolina	4,076	2,479	3,092	3,698	4,004	<b>17,349</b>	9.2
South Carolina	556	910	530	1,235	970	<b>4,201</b>	2.2
Georgia	305	245	110	100	125	<b>885</b>	>1
East Florida	0	165	60	0	0	<b>225</b>	>1
West Florida	30	20	0	0	0	<b>50</b>	>1
Bahamas	0	175	100	320	215	<b>810</b>	>1
Bermuda	0	20	0	40	70	<b>130</b>	>1
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>32,155</b>	<b>37,045</b>	<b>36,965</b>	<b>38,995</b>	<b>42,506</b>	<b>187,666</b>	<b>99.2</b>

**Source:** Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.



**Table 6-5 Coastal Trade Exports from Boston: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Commodity</b>	<b>Quantity Exported</b>	<b>Total Exported</b>	<b>Prices &amp; Values (£)</b>	<b>Total Export Value (£)</b>
<b>Anchors</b>				
1769	5 t, 18 cwt			
1770	12 (n)			
1771	35 (n)			
1772	15 (n)			
<b>TOTALS</b>	62 (n), 5 t, 18 cwt			
<b>Apples - Common (bbs)</b>				
1768	1293.5			
1769	0			
1770	1097.75			
1771	421			
1772	1294			
<b>TOTALS</b>	4106.25			
<b>Apples - Pine (bbs)</b>	8			
<b>Ashes - Pearl</b>				
1771	168 t, 15 cwt, 6 lbs			
1772	19 cwt, 3 q, 18 lbs			
<b>TOTALS</b>	168 t, 34 cwt, 3 q, 24 lbs	168t	<b>40 L/T</b>	<b>6,720.00</b>
<b>Ashes - Pot</b>				
1768	1t, 16 cwt			
1769	0			
1770	3 t, 7 cwt			
1771	0			

Table 6-5 (continued)

1772	6 t, 1 cwt, 2 q, 23 lbs			
<b>TOTALS</b>	10 t, 24 cwt, 2 q, 24 lbs	10t	<b>30 L/T</b>	<b>300.00</b>
<b>Axes (n)</b>				
1768	160 dozen			
1769	1809			
1770	1827			
1771	1661			
1772	2208			
<b>TOTALS</b>				
<b>Bark (cords)</b>	14-1771, 9-1772			
<b>Barley (bus.)</b>	1235-1768, 1770-1137, 2483-1771, 1772-1223			
<b>Beer (bbs)</b>	1770-981bbs, 1771-460, 1772-1293	2734	<b>0.247</b>	<b>675.29</b>
<b>Beeswax (lbs)</b>	450-1769, 200-1771, 30-1772	680	<b>0.049</b>	<b>33.32</b>
<b>Boats (n)</b>	12-1769, 2-1770, 2-1771, 1-1772	17		
<b>Booms (n)</b>	68-1769, 8-1770, 5-1771, 9-1772	90		

Table 6-5 (continued)

<b>Bowspits (n)</b>			<b>5.46/T</b>	
<b>Bran (bus)</b>				
1768	0			
1769	43.5			
1770	296			
1771	217			
1772	24			
<b>TOTALS</b>	580.5			
<b>Brass &amp; Old (lbs)</b>	200-1772			
<b>Brazelleto and Fustick</b>	9 t, 8 cwt			
<b>Bread &amp; Flour (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1768	389 t, 10 cwt, 3q, 6 lbs			
1769	593 t, 6 cwt, 2 q			
1770	409 t, 3 cwt, 2 q, 26 lbs			
1771	404 t, 4 cwt, 3 q			
1772	522 t, 19 cwt			
<b>TOTALS</b>	2317 t, 42 cwt, 10 q, 32 lbs	2317t	<b>11/T</b>	<b>25,487.00</b>
<b>Bricks (n)</b>				
1768	277,986			
1769	356,036			
1770	342,100			
1771	308,200			

Table 6-5 (continued)

1772	351,372			
<b>TOTALS</b>	1,635,694	1,635,694	<b>0.0005</b>	<b>817.84</b>
<b>Butter (lbs.)</b>				
1768	43875			
1769	13930			
1770	23775			
1771	22600			
1772	8610			
<b>TOTALS</b>	112790	112,790	<b>0.02</b>	<b>2,255.80</b>
<b>Candles - Spermaceti (lbs)</b>				
1768	20581			
1769	20562			
1770	30576			
1771	9576			
1772	13690			
<b>TOTALS</b>	94985	94985	<b>.062/LBS</b>	<b>5,889.07</b>
<b>Candles - Tallow (lbs)</b>				
1768	19525			
1769	60348			
1770	32862			
1771	27850			
1772	26005			
<b>TOTALS</b>	166590	166,590	<b>0.02</b>	<b>3,331.80</b>
<b>Carcases - Beef</b>	85.5-1770, 102-1772			
<b>Carcases - Mutton</b>	379-1770, 380-1772			

**Table 6-5 (continued)**

<b>Carriages - Currioles</b>	1-1770			
<b>Carriages - chairs</b>	36-1768, 22-1769, 11-1770. 2-1771, 19-1772			
<b>Carriages - chaises</b>	22-1769, 22-1771, 12-1772			
<b>Carriages - sulkies</b>	1-1770			
<b>Carriages - waggons</b>	1-1772			
<b>Caster (lbs)</b>				
<b>Castorum (lbs)</b>			<b>0.225</b>	
<b>Cash</b>	236L, 5s-1772			
<b>Cattle</b>				
1768	57			
1769	83			
1770	227			
1771	225			
1772	188			
<b>TOTALS</b>	780	780	<b>4.5</b>	<b>3,510.00</b>
<b>Cedar</b>				
<b>Cedar - Bolts (n)</b>				
<b>Cedar - posts (n)</b>	1770-50, 1772-50			
<b>Cedar - tons, ft</b>				
<b>Cedar Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>	22000	22000	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>28.60</b>
<b>Cheese (lbs)</b>				
1768	33142			
1769	23765			
1770	31511			
1771	48905			

Table 6-5 (continued)

1772	61341			
<b>TOTALS</b>	198664	198664	<b>0.016</b>	<b>3,178.62</b>
<b>Chocolate (lbs)</b>				
1768	17554			
1769	21080			
1770	21113			
1771	70447			
1772	90774			
<b>TOTALS</b>	220968	220968	<b>0.05639</b>	<b>12460.38</b>
<b>Clapboards (n)</b>				
1768	0			
1769	18750			
1770	4400			
1771	9000			
1772	66700			
<b>TOTALS</b>	98850	98850	<b>0.00175</b>	<b>172.98</b>
<b>Clay (cwt)</b>	12-1770			
<b>Coals (chaldrons)</b>				
<b>Cocoa (lbs)</b>				
1768	2550			
1769	7929			
1770	4720			
1771	8200			
1772	8800			
<b>TOTALS</b>	32199	32199	<b>0.0249</b>	<b>801.75</b>
<b>Coffee (cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1768	105 cwt, 2 q, 9 lbs			
1769	269 cwt, 3 q, 4lbs			
1770	72 cwt			

Table 6-5 (continued)

1771	389 cwt, 2 q, 3 lbs			
1772	276 cwt, 24 lbs			
<b>TOTALS</b>	1111 cwt, 7 q, 40 lbs	1111	<b>1.97</b>	<b>2,188.67</b>
<b>Cordage</b>				
1768	24 t, 4 cwt			
1769	28 t, 12 cwt, 2 q			
1770	13 t, 3 cwt, 3 q, 20 lbs, 4 cables			
1771	773 cwt, 30 cables, 20 coils			
1772	55 tons, 8 cwt, 5 cables			
<b>TOTALS</b>				
<b>Cortex (lbs)</b>	2340-1770			
<b>Cotton (lbs)</b>				
1768	600			
1769	4917			
1770	2830			
1771	3112			
1772	16004			
<b>TOTALS</b>	27463	27463	<b>0.05</b>	<b>1,373.15</b>
<b>Cyder</b>	2167-1769			

Table 6-5 (continued)

<b>Dyewoods - Brazilleto (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>	6 t, 8 cwt, 2 q - 1771, 5 t, 14 cwt, 1 q, 14 lbs-1772			
<b>Dyewoods -Logwood</b>	1770-80 t; 2 t, 3 cwt, 2 q - 1771, 2 t, 22 lbs - 1772			
<b>Dyewoods - Redwoods</b>	1770-4t, 5 cwt, 3 q			
<b>Earthenware - Crates</b>	4 hh, 4 crates, 1916 pairs - 1771			
<b>Earthenware</b>	2 t, 3 crates, 27 barrels, 25.5 dozen pairs - 1772			
<b>Feathers (lbs)</b>				
1768	0			
1769	400			
1770	50			
1771	50			
1772	300			
<b>TOTALS</b>	800			
<b>Fish - Dried (q)</b>				
1768	2443	1881.11	<b>0.77</b>	
1769	7699.5	5620.635	<b>0.73</b>	
1770	4537	3243.955	<b>0.715</b>	
1771	10619	7433.3	<b>0.7</b>	
1772	19759	14819.25	<b>0.75</b>	
<b>TOTALS</b>	45057.5	32998.25		<b>32,998.25</b>



Table 6-5 (continued)

<b>Fish - Pickled (bbs)</b>				
1768	3054			
1769	3366.5			
1770	3276			
1771	4606			
1772	2706			
<b>TOTALS</b>	17008.5	17008.5	<b>0.75</b>	<b>12,756.37</b>
<b>Firewood (cords)</b>	13-1770, 25 - 1772			
<b>Firewood - Bark (cords)</b>	5-1770			
<b>Flax (lbs)</b>				
1768	3500			
1769	10037			
1770	8550			
1771	17787			
1772	15572			
<b>TOTALS</b>	55446	55446	<b>0.031</b>	<b>1,718.82</b>
<b>Flaxseed (lbs)</b>				
1768	2696			
1769	53			
1770	4005			
1771	2338 bus			
1772	3780		<b>0.112</b>	
<b>TOTALS</b>				
<b>Frunnels (n)</b>	3000-1771, 2000-1772	5000	<b>0.046</b>	<b>230.00</b>
<b>Furniture - Chairs</b>				
1768	1043			
1769	828			
1770	1102			
1771	813			
1772	1165			

Table 6-5 (continued)

<b>TOTALS</b>	4951			
<b>Furniture - Desks</b>				
1768	33			
1769	25			
1770	53			
1771	28			
1772	37			
<b>TOTALS</b>				
<b>Furniture - Drawer Cases</b>				
1768	2			
1769				
1770 - listed as chest drawers				
1771				
1772	4			
<b>TOTALS</b>				
<b>Furniture - Tables</b>				
1768	20			
1769	41			
1770	40			
1771	27			
1772	55			
<b>TOTALS</b>	183			
<b>Furs (lbs)</b>	7910-1768			
<b>Furs - Various</b>				
<b>Fustick (t, cwt, q)</b>	1769-4 t, 17 cwt, 2 q			
<b>Ginger</b>				
1768	6 cwt, 2 q, 11 lbs			

**Table 6-5 (continued)**

1769	72 cwt, 2 q, 13 lbs			
1770	28 cwt, 3 q, 16 lbs			
1771	1 cwt, 3 q, 4 lbs			
1772	9 cwt, 14 lbs			
<b>TOTALS</b>	116 cwt, 10 q, 58 lbs	116	<b>0.447</b>	<b>51.85</b>
<b>Hams</b>	8-1771, 3-1772			
<b>Handspikes (n)</b>	60-1769, 936-1772			
<b>Hay (t)</b>				
1768	53 t, 9 cwt			
1769	125 t, 14 cwt			
1770	80 t			
1771	140 t, 10 cwt			
1772	106 t, 15 cwt			
<b>TOTALS</b>	504 t, 48 cwt			
<b>Hemp (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			<b>1.51/CWT</b>	
1769	4 t, 10 cwt			
<b>TOTALS</b>	4 t, 10 cwt			
<b>Honey (lbs)</b>	788-1770			
<b>Hoops (n)</b>				
1768	20,500			

Table 6-5 (continued)

1769	37,750			
1770	18,400			
1771	46,000			
1772	40,000			
<b>TOTALS</b>	162,650	162,650	<b>0.00225</b>	<b>365.96</b>
<b>Hoops - Tress (Sets)</b>	16-1770			
<b>Hops (lbs)</b>	2500-1768, 8350-1769, 5250-1770, 4100-1771, 800-1772			
<b>Horses (n)</b>				
1768	6			
1769	10			
1770	4			
1771	16			
1772	13	13	<b>15</b>	<b>195.00</b>
<b>TOTALS</b>				
<b>Houseframes (n)</b>	1-1770, 1-1771, 7-1772	9	<b>20/EACH</b>	<b>180.00</b>
<b>Indian Corn (bus)</b>				
1768	7818			
1769	22136			
1770	7795			
1771	0			
1772	16865			
<b>TOTALS</b>	54614	54614	<b>0.0749</b>	<b>4,090.58</b>
<b>Indigo (lbs)</b>				
1768	26			
1769	2228			
1770	848			
1771	9494			

Table 6-5 (continued)

1772	0			
<b>TOTALS</b>	12596	12596	<b>0.225</b>	<b>2,834.10</b>
<b>Iron - Bar (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1768	54 t, 5 cwt, 2 q			
1769	43 t, 13 cwt, 2 q, 13 lbs			
1770	46 t, 9 cwt, 1 q, 6 lbs			
1771	48 t, 13 cwt			
1772	55 t, 10 cwt, 1 q			
<b>TOTALS</b>	246 t, 50 cwt, 6 q, 19 lbs	246	<b>14.96/T</b>	<b>3,680.16</b>
<b>Iron - Cast (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1768	35 t, 10 cwt, 1 q, 22 lbs			
1769	89 t, 18 cwt, 19 lbs			
1770	79 t, 17 cwt, 19 lbs			
1771	76 t, 13 cwt			
1772	93 t, 15 cwt, 1 q, 20 lbs			
<b>TOTALS</b>	372 t, 73 cwt, 2 q, 80 lbs	372	<b>16.5/T</b>	<b>6,138.00</b>

Table 6-5 (continued)

<b>Iron - Pig (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1768	0			
1769	31 t, 15 cwt			
1770	0			
1771	0			
1772	11 t			
<b>TOTALS</b>	42 t, 15 cwt	42	<b>5/T</b>	<b>210.00</b>
<b>Lampblack (bbs)</b>				
1768	256			
1769	1,203			
1770	1135-kegs			
1771	220			
1772	353			
<b>TOTALS</b>	2032 bbs, 1135 kegs			
<b>Laths (n)</b>				
1768	0			
1769	14000			
1770	15000			
1771	1000			
1772	26000			
<b>TOTALS</b>				
<b>Leather (lbs)</b>				
1768	1504			
1769	5752			
1770	4336, 432 hides, 65 breeches, 47 bundles			
1771	42212, 50 breeches			

Table 6-5 (continued)

1772	18636, 10 breeches			
<b>TOTALS</b>	72440, 432 hides, 125 breeches, 47 bundles			
<b>Lemons (n)</b>	300-1771			
<b>Logwood &amp; Lignum Vitae (t)</b>	8 t - 1768, 5t, 2 cwt- 1771			
<b>Logwood (t)</b>	4 t, 8 cwt, 1 q	4 t	<b>4.49/T</b>	<b>17.96</b>
<b>Lignum Vitae (t)</b>				
1769	2 t, 1 cwt			
1770	1t, 20 cwt			
1772	10 t, 4 cwt, 1 q			
<b>TOTALS</b>	13	13	<b>4.5/t</b>	<b>58.5</b>
<b>Lime (bus)</b>				
1768	21			
1769	3,480			
1770	1,910			
1771	4,176			
1772	2,428			
<b>TOTALS</b>	12,015			
<b>Lime Juice (bbs)</b>	2-1770, 1-1771, 1- 1772			
<b>Limes (bbs)</b>	33-1769, 50-1770, 51-1771	134	<b>1.5</b>	<b>201.00</b>
<b>Lumber - Bark (cords)</b>	14-1771			

**Table 6-5 (continued)**

<b>Lumber - Blocks</b>	654 ft-1769, 52-1770, 1233-1771			
<b>Mahogany - Boards/Plank</b>	8t, 16 ft-1772			
<b>Mahogany - Feet</b>	5400-1771			
<b>Malt (bus)</b>	829-1770			
<b>Masts (n)</b>	12-1768, 28-1769		<b>5.46/T</b>	
<b>Masts, Yards &amp; Bowspits (n)</b>	31		<b>17.53</b>	<b>543.43</b>
<b>Meal (bus)</b>	2111	2111	<b>0.1</b>	<b>211.10</b>
<b>Molasses (g)</b>				
1768	284,918			
1769	213132			
1770	856649			
1771	293702			
1772	239619			
<b>TOTALS</b>	1,888,020	1,888,020	<b>0.049</b>	<b>92,512.98</b>
<b>Nuts (bbs)</b>	20-1771			
<b>Oak Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>				
1768	12,700			



Table 6-5 (continued)

1769	9300			
1770	3000			
1771	11500			
1772	11000	11000	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>14.30</b>
<b>TOTALS</b>				
<b>Oaker</b>	9 t- 1770			
<b>Oakum</b>	25 t, 115.5 cwt			
<b>Oars (ft)</b>				
1768	4500			
1769	10845			
1770	13970			
1771	13,460			
1772	14014			
<b>TOTALS</b>	56789	56789	<b>0.00625</b>	<b>354.93</b>
<b>Oats (bbs)</b>				
1768	0			
1769	739			
1770	418			
1771	727			
1772	124			
<b>TOTALS</b>	2008	2008	<b>0.05</b>	<b>100.40</b>
<b>Oil - Blubber (bbs)</b>			<b>15/T</b>	
1768	0			
1769	0			
1770	289			
1771	309.5			
1772	293			
<b>TOTALS</b>	891.5		<b>?</b>	
<b>Oil - Fish</b>				
1768	794 t, 87 g			
1769	1916 t, 176 g			

Table 6-5 (continued)

1770	1005 t, 107 g			
1771	797 t, 242 g			
1772	684 t, 89 g			
<b>TOTALS</b>	5196 t, 701 g	1,310,093 g	<b>.059/g</b>	<b>77,295.48</b>
<b>Oil - Linseed</b>				
1768	0			
1769	0			
1770	68			
1771	200			
1772	10			
<b>TOTALS</b>	278	278	<b>2.9/T</b>	<b>806.20</b>
<b>Onions - bushels</b>				
1768	490			
1769	282			
1770	392			
1771	836			
1772	2089			
<b>TOTALS</b>	4089	4089	<b>.004/lbs</b>	<b>16.35</b>
<b>Onions - ropes</b>				
1768	5,286			
1769	9,240			
1770	13,182			
1771	3,215			
1772	4,442			
<b>TOTALS</b>	35,365	35,365	<b>.004/lbs</b>	<b>141.46</b>
<b>Pails (doz)</b>	1220 doz			
<b>Paper &amp; Pasteboard – American (reams)</b>	787 reams			
<b>Peas (bus)</b>				
1768	758			
1769	1074			

Table 6-5 (continued)

1770	745			
1771	286			
1772	501			
<b>TOTALS</b>	3364	3364	<b>0.2</b>	<b>672.80</b>
<b>Pickles (bbs, kegs)</b>	28.5 bbs, 18 kegs			
<b>Pimento (lbs)</b>				
1768	981			
1769	418			
1770	746			
1771	79			
1772	1824			
<b>TOTALS</b>	4048	4048	<b>0.024</b>	<b>97.15</b>
<b>Pine Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>				
1768	516,600			
1769	1,422,688			
1770	1,163,376			
1771	1,217,600			
1772	2,117,500			
<b>TOTALS</b>	6,437,764	6,437,764	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>8,369.09</b>
<b>Pitch (bbs)</b>				
1768 - and Tar	1493			
1769	695			
1770	383			
1771	237			
1772	553			
<b>TOTALS</b>	3361	3361	<b>0.349</b>	<b>1,172.98</b>
<b>Pork &amp; Beef (t, cwt, q, bbs)</b>				
1768	4124 bbs			
1769	257 t, 15 cwt, 2 q			

Table 6-5 (continued)

1770	145 t, 14 cwt			
1771	2188.5 bbs			
1772	1824 bbs			
<b>TOTALS</b>	4090 bbs - all converted	4090	<b>2.12/BBS</b>	<b>8,670.80</b>
<b>Potatoes (bus)</b>				
1768	2,429			
1769	1,528			
1770	2,167			
1771	1,599			
1772	1,924			
<b>TOTALS</b>	9,647	9,647	<b>0.0375</b>	<b>361.76</b>
<b>Poultry (doz)</b>	1023.5-1769, 1770-361.5, 204.5-1771, 56 - 1772	1645.5	<b>0.45</b>	<b>740.47</b>
<b>Pumps (n)</b>	5-1770, 1-1771, 1-1772			
<b>Reeds</b>	1770-200, 100-1771, 708-1772			
<b>Rice (bbs)</b>				
1768	0			
1769	0			
1770	129			
1771	359			
1772	83			
<b>TOTALS</b>	571	571	<b>2.25</b>	<b>1,284.75</b>
<b>Rosin (bbs)</b>				
1768	0			

Table 6-5 (continued)

1769	38			
1770	3			
1771	2			
1772	2			
<b>TOTALS</b>	45	45	<b>1.25</b>	<b>56.25</b>
<b>Rum - New England (g)</b>				
1768	375,587			
1769	585092			
1770	612753			
1771	586891			
1772	793516			
<b>TOTALS</b>	2,953,839	2,953,839	<b>0.062</b>	<b>183,138.01</b>
<b>Rum - West Indian</b>				
1768	0			
1769	22,306			
1770	48,921			
1771	35,208			
1772	37,573			
<b>TOTALS</b>	144,008	144,008	<b>0.1</b>	<b>14,400.80</b>
<b>Rye (bus)</b>	1769-1244, 1770-418, 1771-103	1765	<b>0.05</b>	<b>88.25</b>
<b>Sago (lbs)</b>				
<b>Salt (bus)</b>				
1768	13,974			
1769	21,503			
1770	27,796			
1771	38,707			
1772	23,454			
<b>TOTALS</b>	125,434	125,434	<b>0.051</b>	<b>6,397.13</b>
<b>Sheep (n)</b>				

Table 6-5 (continued)

1768	1602			
1769	1839			
1770	1512			
1771	1937			
1772	1375			
<b>TOTALS</b>	8265	8265	<b>0.35</b>	<b>2,892.75</b>
<b>Shingles (n)</b>				
1768	279,000			
1769	669,250			
1770	336,700			
1771	872,000			
1772	1,334,700			
<b>TOTALS</b>	3,491,650	3,491,650	<b>0.000397</b>	<b>1,386.18</b>
<b>Shoes (pairs)</b>				
1768	3699			
1769	11065			
1770	23338			
1771	11303			
1772	17937			
<b>TOTALS</b>	67342	67342	<b>0.125</b>	<b>8,417.75</b>
<b>Shook Hogsheads</b>				
1768	160			
1769	1808			
1770	1201			
1771	2064			
1772	2371			
<b>TOTALS</b>	7604	7604	<b>0.125</b>	<b>950.50</b>
<b>Sithes (doz)</b>	320.5-1769, 176.75-1770, 150 - 1771, 158 - 1772			

Table 6-5 (continued)

<b>Skins - calf, sheep, peltry (doz, lbs)</b>	628 number			
<b>Slaves (n)</b>	1-1771			
<b>Snuff (lbs)</b>	35.75 bbs, 118 doz- 1771, 1772-22.5 bbs, 81.5 doz			
<b>Soap - Soft (bbs)</b>				
<b>1768</b>	35		<b>0.025</b>	
<b>Spars (n, iunches)</b>				
1768	139			
1770	82			
<b>TOTALS</b>	221			
<b>Spinning Wheels (n)</b>	34-1770, 32-1771, 30-1772			
<b>Spruce Essence (bbs)</b>	10-1770			
<b>Staves (n)</b>				
1768	117,800			
1769	99,750			
1770	96,250			
1771	77,600			
1772	98,000			
<b>TOTALS</b>	489,400	489,400	<b>0.00299</b>	<b>1,463.30</b>
<b>Stone Quarry (t)</b>	11-1772			
<b>Stones - Grave (n)</b>	38-1770, 47-1771, 62-1772			

Table 6-5 (continued)

<b>Stones - Grind (n)</b>				
1769	337			
1770	1550			
1771	785			
1772	712			
<b>TOTALS</b>	3384			
<b>Stones - Mill (n)</b>	2-1772			
<b>Sugar - Brown (cwt, q, lbs)</b>				
1768	1016 cwt, 2 q, 24 lbs			
1769	1188 cwt, 1 q, 6 lbs			
1770	2475 cwt, 3 q			
1771	2769 cwt, 1 q, 13 lbs			
1772	2787 cwt, 3 q, 11 lbs			
<b>TOTALS</b>	10235 cwt, 10 q, 54 lbs	10,235	<b>1.578</b>	<b>16,150.83</b>
<b>Sugar - Loaf (lbs)</b>				
1768	73009			
1769	29280			
1770	31830			
1771	35256			
1772	52838			
<b>TOTALS</b>	222213	222,213	<b>0.031</b>	<b>6,888.60</b>
<b>Tallow &amp; Lard (lbs)</b>				
1768	13500			
1769	16450			
1770	13000			
1771	13950			
1772	10320	13,320	<b>0.02</b>	<b>266.40</b>
<b>TOTALS</b>				
<b>Tar (bbs)</b>				
1769	736		<b>0.3</b>	



**Table 6-5 (continued)**

<b>Tiles (n)</b>	1968-1770			
<b>Timber - Blocks</b>	266 n, 40 ft - 1772			
<b>Timber - Oak (t)</b>	66 t - 1768, 135 t, 282 ft-1770, 58 t - 1772		<b>.9/T</b>	
<b>Timber - Pine (t, ft)</b>	13 t - 1768, 14 t - 1769, 235 t - 1772		<b>.4/T</b>	
<b>Timber - Black Walnut Plank (t)</b>	10 t - 1769			
<b>Timber - Black Walnut (t)</b>	2 t - 1772			
<b>Timber - Wheels</b>	16 ft - 1770			
<b>Tobacco (lbs)</b>				
1770	20198			
<b>TOTALS</b>	20198		<b>0.019</b>	
<b>Turpentine (bbs)</b>				
1769	383		<b>0.4</b>	
<b>Turtlewax (lbs)</b>	152			
<b>Whalebone (lbs)</b>	9,232			
<b>Whalefins (lbs)</b>	5,276		<b>0.169</b>	

Table 6-5 (continued)

<b>Wheat (bus)</b>	40		<b>0.175</b>	
<b>Wine of the Azores (t, g)</b>				
1768	18 t, 148 g			
1769	30 t, 161 g			
1770	27 t, 188 g			
1771	26 t, 80 g			
1772	25 t, 105 g			
<b>TOTALS</b>	126 t, 682 g	126	<b>54/T</b>	<b>6,804.00</b>
<b>Woodware or Woodenware (doz)</b>	57			
<b>Wrought Iron Nails (bbs)</b>	100			
<b>Wrought Iron Scythes</b>	176.75 cwt			
<b>Wrought Iron - Various</b>	4 cwt			
<b>Total</b>				<b>577,618.00</b>

**Source:** Commodity totals are mine as derived from the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 6-6 West Indian Commodities Re-Exported from Boston in the Coastal Trade: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Commodity</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>	<b>%</b>
Cocoa	801.75	
Coffee	2,188.67	
Cotton	1,373.15	
Ginger	51.85	
Indigo	2,834.10	
Lignum Vitae	58.50	
Limes	201.00	
Molasses	92,512.98	
Pimento	97.15	
Rum – NE	183,138.01	
Rum – WI	14,400.80	
Salt	6,397.13	
Sugar - Brown	16,150.85	
Sugar Loaf	6,888.60	
<b>Total – WI</b>	<b>327,094.54</b>	59%
<b>Total - All Coastwise</b>	<b>570,212.41</b>	100%

**Source:** Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 6-7 Boston Exports to Great Britain: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Commodity</b>	<b>Amount Exported</b>	<b>PPU (£)</b>	<b>Total Value (£)</b>
<b>Ashes - Pearl (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	188, 1, 2, 11		
1769	134, 12, 2, 17		
1770	418, 6, 1, 19		
1771	409, 6, 0, 3		
1772	363, 4, 3, 9		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1512 t, 29 cwt, 8 q, 59 lbs</b>	<b>40 L/T</b>	<b>60,480.00</b>
<b>Ashes - Pot (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	827 t, 13, 3, 18		
1769	683 t, 12, 3, 19		
1770	602 t, 5 cwt, 1 q, 24 lbs		
1771	801, 12, 3, 23		
1772	681, 10, 0, 14		
<b>Total</b>	<b>3594 t, 52 cwt, 10 q, 98 lbs</b>	<b>30 L/T</b>	<b>107,820.00</b>
<b>Beef, Pork and Hams (t, cwt, q)</b>			
1768	89 t, 6 cwt	<b>2.12/BBS</b>	
<b>Boards and Plank - Oak (ft)</b>			
1768	101,215		
1769	52,473		
1770	126,610		
1771	187,368		
1772	300,850		
<b>Total</b>	<b>768,516</b>	<b>0.0225</b>	<b>17.29</b>
<b>Boards and Plank - Pine (ft)</b>			
1768	303,265		
1769	486,280		
1770	368,804		
1771	477,847		
1772	381,800		

Table 6-7 (continued)

<b>Total</b>	<b>2,017,996</b>	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>2,623.00</b>
<b>Brass and Copper - old (lbs)</b>			
1771	950		
1772	1,550		
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,500</b>		
<b>Bread and Flour (t, cwt, q)</b>			
1768	1 t, 15 cwt, 3 q	<b>11/T</b>	<b>11.00</b>
<b>Camwood (t, cwt)</b>			
1770	1 t, 17 cwt		
<b>Candles - Spermaceti (lbs)</b>			
1768	232		
1769	456		
1770	4340		
1771	4214		
<b>Total</b>	<b>9242</b>	<b>.062/LBS</b>	<b>573.00</b>
<b>Castor (lbs)</b>			
1772	32		
<b>Castoreum (lbs)</b>			
1769	141		
1770	900		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1041</b>	<b>0.225</b>	<b>234.22</b>
<b>Clapboards (n)</b>			
1770	500	<b>0.00175</b>	<b>0.88</b>
<b>Cortex - Earthenware (lbs)</b>			
1769	2000		
<b>Cortex - Winteran (lbs)</b>			

Table 6-7 (continued)

1769	2200		
<b>Cotton (lbs)</b>			
1768	5922		
1769	300		
<b>Total</b>	<b>6222</b>	<b>0.05</b>	<b>311.10</b>
<b>Cranberries (bbs)</b>			
1771	10		
1772	17		
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>		
<b>Fish - Dried (q)</b>			
1772	1		
<b>Fish - Pickled (bbs)</b>			
1768	268		
1771	3		
<b>Total</b>	<b>271</b>		
<b>Flaxseed (bus.)</b>			
1768	3828		
1769	4730		
1770	4407		
1771	5888		
1772	9014		
<b>Total</b>	<b>27867</b>		
<b>Frunnels (n)</b>			
1768	17,500		
1769	17,200		
1770	38,700		
1771	7,200		
1772	41,700		

Table 6-7 (continued)

<b>Total</b>	<b>122,300</b>	<b>0.046</b>	<b>5,625.80</b>
<b>Furs and Peltries</b>			
1768	42 Trunks, 20 bbs, 17 hh	352 BPS	<b>352.00</b>
<b>Ginger (cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1769	3, 1, 7		
1770	32, 2, 14		
<b>Total</b>	<b>35, 3, 21</b>	<b>0.447</b>	<b>15.64</b>
<b>Handspikes (n)</b>			
1768	1684		
1769	407		
1770	1763		
1771	381		
1772	906		
<b>Total</b>	<b>5141</b>		
<b>Honey (lbs)</b>			
1770	300		
<b>Hops (lbs)</b>			
1771	900		
<b>Horns (n)</b>			
1768	5600		
1769	44000		
1770	24200		
1771	14900		
1772	14500		
<b>Total</b>	<b>103200</b>		
<b>Indian Corn (bus)</b>			

Table 6-7 (continued)

1769	100	<b>0.0749</b>	<b>7.49</b>
<b>Indigo (lbs)</b>			
1768	1790 lbs	<b>0.225</b>	<b>402.75</b>
1768	1 cask		
<b>Iron - Bar (various)</b>			
1768	2 t		
1769	6 t, 3 cwt, 2 q, 5 lbs		
1770	5 t		
1771	2 cwt, 1 q, 10 lbs		
<b>Total</b>	<b>13 t, 5 cwt, 3 q, 15 lbs</b>	<b>14.96/T</b>	<b>171.29</b>
<b>Iron - Pig</b>			
1768	13 t, 16 cwt, 2 q		
1769	67 t, 19 cwt, 2 q		
1770	51 t		
1771	40 t, 10 cwt		
1772	65 t, 1 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	<b>236 t, 46 cwt, 4 q</b>	<b>5/T</b>	<b>1,185.00</b>
<b>Laths (t)</b>			
1769	1 t, one-fifth		
1770 - number not tons	15000		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1.2 tons, 15,000 n</b>		
<b>Lathwood (cords)</b>			
1771	24		
<b>Lignum Vitae (t)</b>			
1770	42 t, 5 cwt, 3 q		
1771	53 t, 10 cwt		
1772	28 t, 10 cwt		



Table 6-7 (continued)

<b>Total</b>	<b>123 t, 25 cwt, 3 q</b>	<b>4.5/t</b>	<b>553.50</b>
<b>Lignum Vitae &amp; Ivory</b>			
1768	8 t, 6 cwt, 163 sq. ft	<b>4.5/t</b>	<b>36.00</b>
<b>Logwood, Fustick, Other Dyewoods</b>			
<b>1768 - All three combined</b>	69 t, 10 cwt		
<b>Fustick, Brazelletto and Redwood - 1770</b>	61 t, 2 cwt, 3 q	<b>4.5/t</b>	<b>274.50</b>
<b>1769 - Logwood</b>	48 t, 9 cwt		
<b>1770 - Logwood</b>	173 t, 10 cwt		
<b>1771 - Logwood</b>	95 t		
<b>1772 - Logwood</b>	37 t, 4 cwt		
<b>Logwood Total</b>	<b>353 t, 23 cwt</b>	<b>4.49/T</b>	<b>1,584.97</b>
<b>Fustick - 1771</b>	79 t		
<b>Fustick - 1772</b>	58 cwt		
<b>Fustick Total</b>	<b>79 t, 58 cwt</b>		
<b>Mahogany (t, ft, sq. ft)</b>			
1768	1925 ft, 39 sq. ft		
1769 - British	96 t, 20 ft		
1771	3189 ft		
<b>Total</b>	<b>96 t, 5134 ft, 39 sq ft</b>		
<b>Masts, Yards, Bowspits and Spars</b>			
All Three Combined - 1768	112 - N, 24 Tons	<b>17.53</b>	<b>1,963.36</b>
Bowspits - 1770	18		
Bowspits - 1771	25		

Table 6-7 (continued)

<b>Total - Tons</b>	<b>43</b>		
Masts - 1769	94		
Masts - 1770	39.5		
Masts - 1771	15		
Masts - 1772	24.5		
<b>Total - Tons</b>	<b>173</b>		
Spars - 1769	207		
Spars - 1770	179		
Spars - 1771	557		
Spars - 1772	178		
<b>Total - Tons</b>	<b>1121</b>		
Yards - 1770	12		
Yards - 1771	40		
<b>Total - Tons</b>	<b>52</b>		
<b>Oars (ft)</b>			
1768	6,940		
1769	2,170		
1770	12,704		
1771	19,532		
1772	56,000		
<b>Total</b>	<b>97,346</b>	<b>0.00625</b>	<b>608.41</b>
<b>Oil (t, g)</b>			
1768	3411 t, 94 g		
1769	3541 t, 117 g		
1770	3239 t, 75 g		
1771	2144 t, 109 g		
1772	2020 t, 174 g		
<b>Total</b>	<b>14355 t, 569 g</b>	<b>15 L</b>	<b>215,325.00</b>
<b>Pitch (bbs)</b>			
1768	1107		

Table 6-7 (continued)

1769	343		
1770	166		
1771	28		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1644</b>	<b>0.349</b>	<b>573.75</b>
<b>Pork (bbs)</b>			
1772	40		
<b>Reeds (n)</b>			
1769	1000		
<b>Rice (bbs)</b>			
1769	9		
1770	101.5		
1771	3		
1772	6		
<b>Total</b>	<b>119.5</b>	<b>2.25</b>	<b>268.87</b>
<b>Rosin (bbs)</b>			
1769	226		
1770	70		
<b>Total</b>	<b>296</b>	<b>1.25</b>	<b>74.00</b>
<b>Rum - North American (g)</b>			
1769	18340	<b>0.062</b>	<b>1,137.08</b>
<b>Rum - West India (g)</b>			
1769	324		
1770	558		
<b>Total</b>	<b>882</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>88.20</b>

Table 6-7 (continued)

<b>Sassafras (t, cwt, q)</b>			
1769	1 t, 2 cwt, 1 q		
1770	5 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1 t, 7 cwt, 1 q</b>		
<b>Skins and Furs</b>		<b>BPS</b>	
1769 - Elk	138	<b>5225</b>	
1770 - General	No number given	<b>4492</b>	
1771 - General	No number given	<b>3632</b>	
1772 - 1800 Dressed Deer Skins		<b>2895</b>	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>16244</b>	<b>16,244.00</b>
<b>Staves and Heading (n)</b>			
1768	405,390		
1769	382,130		
1770	397,190		
1771	443,000		
1772	490,800		
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,118,510</b>	<b>0.00299</b>	
<b>Shingles (n)</b>			
1768	3,000	<b>0.000397</b>	<b>1.19</b>
<b>Sugar - Brown (cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	194 cwt	<b>1.578</b>	<b>306.13</b>
<b>Sundries</b>			
1768 - 10 Anchor Stocks			
1768 - 1 Cask of Honey			
1768 - 4 Barrels of Iron Axes			
1768 - 23 Barrels Turpentine Spirits			

Table 6-7 (continued)

1771 - 20 bbs Turpentine Spirits - 32 BPS			
1771 - 10 bundles of mast hoops			
1772 - 606 dozen racks			
1772 - 100 dozen mast hoops			
1772 - 100 axe halves			
1772 - 140 dozen wheel spokes			
<b>Tar (bbs)</b>			
1768	5944		
1769	4636		
1770	2797		
1771	9489		
1772	9350		
<b>Total</b>	<b>32216</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>9,664.80</b>
<b>Timber - Birch (t, ft)</b>			
1771	22 t, 30 ft	<b>.4/T</b>	<b>8.80</b>
<b>Timber - Oak (t, ft)</b>		N	
1768 - and Ash	287 t, 10 ft	77	
1769	175 t, 36 ft		
1770	564 t, 35 ft		
1771	384 t, 20 ft		
1772	1122 t, 12 ft		
<b>Total</b>	<b>2532 t, 113 ft</b>	<b>.9/T</b>	<b>2,278.80</b>
<b>Timber - Pine (t, ft)</b>		N	
1768	801 t	355	
1769	1505 t		
1770	538 t, 15 ft		
1771	427 t, 20 ft		

Table 6-7 (continued)

1772	642 t		
<b>Total</b>	<b>3913 t, 35 ft</b>	<b>.4/T</b>	<b>1,565.20</b>
<b>Timber - Walnut (t, ft)</b>			
1769	264 t, 20 ft	<b>.4/T</b>	<b>105.60</b>
<b>Turpentine (bbs)</b>			
1768	1801		
1769	2502		
1770	1394		
1771	829		
1772	114		
<b>Total</b>	<b>6640</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>2,656.00</b>
<b>Turtleshell (lbs)</b>			
1772	12		
<b>Wax (lbs)</b>			
1768	1484		
1770	6534		
1771	2290		
<b>Total</b>	<b>10308</b>		
<b>Wax - Bees (lbs)</b>			
1769	2033		
1772	5311		
<b>Total</b>	<b>7344</b>	<b>0.049</b>	<b>359.85</b>
<b>Whalefins (bbs)</b>			
1768	250		
<b>Whalefins (pounds)</b>			
1768	36686		
1769	28745		

**Table 6-7 (continued)**

1770	100759		
1771	30463		
1772	1200		
<b>Total</b>	<b>197853</b>	<b>0.169</b>	<b>33,437.15</b>
<b>Wine (t, g)</b>			
1771	1 t, 12 g		
1772	1 t, 32 g		
<b>Total</b>	<b>2 t, 44 g</b>	<b>54/T</b>	<b>108.00</b>
<b>Total Value of all Commodities Exported</b>			<b>469,053.62</b>

**Source:** Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 6-8 Exports from Boston to the West Indies: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Commodity</b>	<b>Quantity Exported</b>	<b>PPU(£)</b>	<b>Total Value (£)</b>
<b>Apples (bbs)</b>			
1768	0		
1769	147		
1770	0		
1771	61		
1772	150		
<b>Total</b>	358		
<b>Axes (n)</b>			
1769	300		
1770	132		
1771	278		
1772	309		
<b>Total</b>	1,019		
<b>Beer &amp; Cyder (bbs)</b>			
1768	47		
1769	187		
1772	43		
<b>Total</b>	277		
<b>Beeswax (lbs)</b>			
1769	250		
<b>Boats (n)</b>			
1768	4		
1769	12		
1772	29		
<b>Total</b>	45		
<b>Bread &amp; Flour (t, cwt, q)</b>			
1768	1601.75 bbs		
1769	228 t, 6 cwt, 2 q		
1770	259 t, 17 cwt		
1771	198 t, 2 cwt		



Table 6-8 (continued)

1772	165 t, 1 cwt, 3 q		
<b>Total</b>	1050 t - converted	<b>11 L/T</b>	<b>11,550.00</b>
<b>Bricks (n)</b>			
1768	340,000		
1769	157,100		
1770	275,000		
1771	341,800		
1772	328,700		
<b>Total</b>	1,442,600	<b>0.0005</b>	<b>721.30</b>
<b>Butter (lbs.)</b>			
1768	217		
1769	0		
1770	1,700		
1771	6,510		
1772	10,150		
<b>Total</b>	18,577	<b>0.02</b>	<b>371.54</b>
<b>Candles - Spermaceti (lbs)</b>			
1768	54,885		
1769	46,939		
1770	68,371		
1771	55,710		
1772	54,020		
<b>Total</b>	279,925	<b>.062/LBS</b>	<b>17,355.35</b>
<b>Candles - Tallow (lbs)</b>			
1768	6,980		
1769	2,920		
1770	3,670		
1771	550		
1772	10,450		
<b>Total</b>	24,570	<b>0.02</b>	<b>491.40</b>

Table 6-8 (continued)

<b>Candles - Wax (lbs)</b>			
1771	210		
<b>Carriages - chairs &amp; chaises</b>			
1769	8		
1772	3		
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>		
<b>Carriages - Chariots</b>	1		
<b>Cattle</b>			
1768	223		
1769	112		
1770	82		
1771	33		
1772	87		
<b>Total</b>	537	<b>4.5L</b>	<b>2,416.50</b>
<b>Cheese (lbs)</b>			
1768	3,314		
1769	1,686		
1770	1,653		
1771	3,656		
1772	9,884		
<b>Total</b>	20,193	<b>0.016</b>	<b>323.08</b>
<b>Chocolate (lbs)</b>			
1768	350		
1769	1,290		
1772	200		
<b>Total</b>	1,840	<b>0.05639</b>	<b>103.75</b>
<b>Clapboards (n)</b>			
1768			

Table 6-8 (continued)

1769	6,350		
1770	1,500		
1771	12,500		
1772	3,000		
<b>Total</b>	23,350	<b>0.00175</b>	<b>40.86</b>
<b>Cocoa - Foreign (cwt)</b>	350	<b>0.0249</b>	<b>8.71</b>
<b>Earthenware - Barrels</b>	4		
<b>Fireword (cords)</b>	15		
<b>Fish - Dried (q)</b>		<b>s/per q</b>	
1768	47,473	<b>7.95</b>	
1769	55,062	<b>8.84</b>	
1770	54,008	<b>9.1</b>	
1771	57,492	<b>9.1</b>	
1772	76,929	<b>8.97</b>	
<b>Total</b>	290,964		<b>128,443.06</b>
<b>Fish - Pickled (bbs)</b>			
1768	948.33		
1769	8,557.50		
1770	4,855.00		
1771	8,386.50		
1772	7,663.00		
<b>Total</b>	30,410.33	<b>0.75</b>	<b>22,807.74</b>
<b>Furniture - Chairs</b>			
1771	49		
1772	6		
<b>Total</b>	54		

Table 6-8 (continued)

<b>Furniture - Desks</b>			
1769	14		
1770	15		
1771	9		
1772	22		
<b>Total</b>	60		
<b>Furniture - Drawer Cases</b>			
1769 - Cabinets	5		
<b>Total</b>	5		
<b>Furniture - Tables</b>			
1769	20		
1770	11		
1771	16		
1772	13		
<b>Total</b>	60		
<b>Hams (bbs)</b>			
1771	14		
1772	2		
<b>Total</b>	16	2.64	<b>42.24</b>
<b>Handspikes (n)</b>			
1768	2,120		
1769	220		
1770	200		
1771	0		
1772	24		
<b>Total</b>	2,564		
<b>Hay</b>			
1770	16 cwt		
1772	15 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	31 cwt		

Table 6-8 (continued)

<b>Hogs (n)</b>			
1771	499		
<b>Hoops (n)</b>			
1768	379,700		
1769	473,080		
1770	440,200		
1771	513,580		
1772	472,200		
<b>Total</b>	2,278,760	<b>0.00225</b>	
<b>Hoops - Tress (Sets)</b>			
1769	53		
1770	3		
1771	10		
1772	10		
<b>Total</b>	76		
<b>Horses (n)</b>			
1768	121		
1769	156		
1770	42		
1771	118		
1772	91		
<b>Total</b>	528	<b>15</b>	<b>7,920.00</b>
<b>Houseframes (n)</b>			
1768	5		
1769	0		
1770	6		
1771	1		
1772	22		
<b>TOTAL</b>	34	<b>20</b>	<b>680.00</b>
<b>Indian Corn (bus)</b>			
1768	1,139		
1769	3,406		

Table 6-8 (continued)

1770	520		
1771	200		
1772	209		
<b>Total</b>	5,474	<b>0.0749</b>	<b>410.00</b>
<b>Iron - Bar (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	1 t		
<b>Total</b>	1 t	<b>14.96/T</b>	<b>14.96</b>
<b>Iron - Cast (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1772	1 t, 6 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	1 t, 6 cwt	<b>16.5/T</b>	<b>16.50</b>
<b>Lampblack (bbs)</b>	50		
<b>Leather (lbs)</b>			
1769	500		
<b>Total</b>	500		
<b>Limes (bus)</b>			
1768	100		
1772	48		
<b>Total</b>	148		
<b>Lumber- Blocks (n)</b>	100		
<b>Masts (n)</b>			
1772	2		
<b>Total</b>	2	23.05	<b>46.10</b>

Table 6-8 (continued)

<b>Meal (bus)</b>	24	<b>0.1</b>	<b>2.40</b>
<b>Misc.</b>			
1772	7 pairs of cart wheels		
1772	1 clock		
1772	3 doz saddle boxes		
1772	3 doz sugar boxes		
<b>Oak Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1768	4,300		
<b>Total</b>	4,300	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>5.59</b>
<b>Oars (ft)</b>			
1768	21,340		
1769	29,378		
1770	13,840		
1771	16,660		
1772	13,040		
<b>Total</b>	94,258	<b>0.00625</b>	<b>589.11</b>
<b>Oats (bus)</b>			
1771	276		
<b>Total</b>	276	<b>0.05</b>	<b>13.80</b>
<b>Oil - Whale (t, g)</b>			
1768	62 t, 207 g		
1769	78 t, 63 g		
1770	62 t, 72 g		
1771	36 t, 107 g		
1772	61 t, 29 g		
<b>Total</b>	299 t, 300 g	<b>15/T</b>	<b>4,485.00</b>

Table 6-8 (continued)

<b>Onions - (bunches)</b>			
1768	30,713		
1769	0		
1770	22,160		
1771	0		
1772	0		
<b>Total</b>	<b>52,873</b>	<b>.004/lbs</b>	<b>211.49</b>
<b>Onions - bushels</b>			
1768	169		
1769	667		
1770	214		
1771	239		
1772	203.5		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,492.5</b>	<b>.004/lbs</b>	<b>5.97</b>
<b>Onions - ropes</b>			
1769	33,867		
1771	10,575		
1772	7,600		
<b>Total</b>	<b>52,042</b>	<b>.004/lbs</b>	<b>208.16</b>
<b>Pails (n)</b>	<b>12 dozen</b>		
<b>Peas (bus)</b>			
1768	23		
1769	0		
1770	308		
1771	216		
1772	180		
<b>Total</b>	<b>727</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>145.40</b>
<b>Pine Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1768	3,798,500		
1769	3,371,739		
1770	3,456,644		



Table 6-8 (continued)

1771	3,933,200		
1772	4,379,200		
<b>Total</b>	18,939,283	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>24,621.06</b>
<b>Pitch (bbs)</b>			
1768	69		
1769	16		
1770	34		
1771	6		
<b>Total</b>	125	<b>0.349</b>	<b>43.62</b>
<b>Pork &amp; Beef (bbs/t, cwt)</b>			
1768	1914.66 bbs		
1769	224 t, 15 cwt		
1770	129 t, 6 cwt		
1771	937.5 bbs		
1772	1313 bbs		
<b>Total</b>	7743 bbs - converted	<b>2.12/BBS</b>	<b>16,415.16</b>
<b>Potatoes (bus)</b>			
1768	982.5		
1769	311.0		
1770	213.0		
1771	328.0		
1772	333.0		
<b>Total</b>	2,167.5	<b>0.0375</b>	<b>81.28</b>
<b>Poultry (doz)</b>			
1768	186.33		
1769	131.00		
1770	24.00		
1771	65.00		
1772	107.00		
<b>Total</b>	513.33	<b>0.45</b>	<b>230.99</b>
<b>Rice (casks)</b>	36	<b>2.25</b>	<b>81.00</b>

Table 6-8 (continued)

<b>Rum - New England (g)</b>			
1768	1,852		
1769	2,214		
1770	724		
1771	1,993		
1772	2,903		
<b>Total</b>	9,686	<b>0.062</b>	<b>600.53</b>
<b>Rum - West Indian</b>			
1770	724		
1771	200		
<b>Total</b>	924	<b>0.1</b>	<b>92.40</b>
<b>Rye (bus)</b>			
1772	60		
<b>Total</b>	60	<b>0.05</b>	<b>3.00</b>
<b>Salt (bus)</b>			
1768	958		
1769	609		
1770	0		
1771	705		
1772	559		
<b>Total</b>	2,831	<b>0.051</b>	<b>144.38</b>
<b>Sheep (n)</b>			
1768	968		
1769	609		
1770	585		
1772	736		
<b>Total</b>	2,898	<b>0.35</b>	<b>1,014.30</b>
<b>Shingles (n)</b>			
1768	2,647,400		
1769	2,282,200		

Table 6-8 (continued)

1770	1,804,750		
1771	2,127,700		
1772	3,314,000		
<b>Total</b>	12,176,050	<b>0.000397</b>	<b>4,833.89</b>
<b>Shoes (pairs)</b>			
1768	192		
1769	1,253		
1770	1,110		
1771	1,382		
1772	1,539		
<b>Total</b>	5,476	<b>0.125</b>	<b>684.50</b>
<b>Shook Hogsheads</b>			
1768	10,287		
1769	15,068		
1770	11,096		
1771	12,539		
1772	11,491		
<b>Total</b>	60,481	<b>0.125</b>	<b>7,560.12</b>
<b>Skins</b>	360 calf skins		
<b>Soap - (lbs)</b>			
1769	240 lbs		
1772	1200 cwt		
<b>Soap (bags)</b>			
<b>1768</b>	59		
<b>Spars (n, iunches)</b>			
1769	12		
1770	14		
1771	12		
1772	12		

Table 6-8 (continued)

<b>Total</b>	50		
<b>Staves (n)</b>			
1768	404,180		
1769	427,200		
1770	340,440		
1771	357,200		
1772	323,550		
<b>Total</b>	1,852,570	<b>0.00299</b>	<b>5,539.18</b>
<b>Stones - Grind (n)</b>			
1772	10		
<b>Total</b>	10		
<b>Sugar - Loaf (cwt)</b>			
1772	2,253		
<b>Total</b>	2,253	<b>0.031</b>	<b>69.84</b>
<b>Sundry</b>			
1769	No specific items listed		<b>178.00</b>
<b>Tallow &amp; Lard (lbs)</b>			
1768	11,350		
1769	26,080		
1770	1,400		
1771	600		
1772	12,550		
<b>Total</b>	51,980	<b>0.02</b>	<b>1,039.60</b>
<b>Tar (bbs)</b>			
1768	31		
1769	45		
1770	38		
1771	29		
1772	90		
<b>Total</b>	233	<b>0.3</b>	<b>69.90</b>

Table 6-8 (continued)

<b>Timber - Oak (t)</b>			
1768	12 t, 20 ft		
1769	42 t		
<b>TOTAL</b>	54 t, 20 ft	<b>.9/T</b>	<b>48.60</b>
<b>Timber - Pine (t)</b>			
1768	27		
1769	45		
1772	15		
<b>TOTAL</b>	87	<b>.4/T</b>	<b>34.80</b>
<b>Turpentine (bbs)</b>			
1768	18		
1769	27		
1770	66		
1771	2		
<b>TOTAL</b>	113	<b>0.4</b>	<b>45.20</b>
<b>Turpentine Spirits (bbs)</b>	12		
<b>Wax (lbs)</b>	70		
<b>Whalefins (cwt)</b>	50		
<b>Wine (g)</b>	56 g		
<b>Wine of the Azores</b>			
1768	1 t, 108 g	<b>54/T</b>	<b>54.00</b>
<b>Yards (n)</b>			
1768 - and Topmasts	115		
1772	2		
<b>TOTAL</b>	117	<b>14.53</b>	<b>1,700.01</b>
<b>Total Value</b>			<b>264,615.37</b>

Source: Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 6-9 Re-Exported West Indian Commodities from Boston to Great Britain: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Commodity</b>	<b>Value – (£)</b>
Cotton	311.10
Ginger	15.64
Indigo	402.75
Lignum Vitae	589.50
Logwood and Other Woods	1,584.97
Rum - New England	1137.08
Rum - West Indian	88.20
Sugar - Brown	306.13
<b>Total - West Indian</b>	<b>4,435.37</b>
<b>Total - Exports to Great Britain</b>	<b>469,053.62</b>

**Source:** For all commodities: Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 6-10 Boston Exports to Africa: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Commodity</b>	<b>Amount Exported</b>	<b>PPU – (£)</b>	<b>Total Value – (£)</b>
<b>Beans (bushels)</b>			
1772	360		
<b>Beef &amp; Pork (various)</b>			
1769 - and Pork	27 t, 10 cwt		
1770	72.5 bbs		
1771	78.5 bbs		
1772	147 bbs		
<b>Total</b>	576.5 bbs - converted	<b>2.12/BBS</b>	1222.18
<b>Boards and Plank - Pine (ft)</b>			
1769	18,000		
1770	9000		
1771	7500		
1772	4000		
<b>Total</b>	<b>38,500</b>	<b>0.0013</b>	50.05
<b>Bread and Flour (t, cwt, q)</b>			
1769	22 t, 4 cwt		
1770	10 t, 8 cwt		
1771	5 t, 18 cwt		
1772	12 t, 18 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	<b>51 t - converted</b>	<b>11/T</b>	561.00
<b>Bricks (n)</b>			
1770	3000	<b>0.0005</b>	1.50
<b>Butter (lbs)</b>			
1771	780	<b>0.02</b>	15.60
<b>Coffee (cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1769	14 cwt, 1 q, 23 lbs	<b>1.97</b>	27.58

Table 6-10 (continued)

<b>Cordage (coils)</b>			
1771	10		
<b>Cyder (bbs)</b>			
1772	20		
<b>Fish - Dried (quintals)</b>			
1769	16	<b>0.730</b>	11.68
<b>Fish - Pickled (bbs)</b>			
1771	4	<b>0.75</b>	3.00
<b>Hoops (n)</b>			
1769	6000		
1770	5000		
1771	2200		
<b>Total</b>	<b>13200</b>	<b>0.00225</b>	29.70
<b>Molasses (g)</b>			
1769	416		
1770	130		
Total	546	<b>0.049</b>	26.75
<b>Onions (ropes)</b>			
1769	500	<b>0.004</b>	2.00
<b>Pease (bushels)</b>			
1771	53	<b>0.2</b>	10.60
<b>Pitch (bbs)</b>			
1769	10		
1772	4		
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>0.349</b>	4.88



Table 6-10 (continued)

<b>Rice (bbs)</b>			
1769	112		
1771	20		
1770	30		
1772	30		
<b>Total</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>2.25</b>	432.00
<b>Rum - West Indian (g)</b>			
1769	360	<b>0.1</b>	36.00
<b>Rum - New England (g)</b>			
1769	132,125		
1770	86,265		
1771	58,729		
1772	126,004		
<b>Total</b>	<b>403,123</b>	<b>0.062</b>	24993.62
<b>Shook Hogsheads (n)</b>			
1769	105	<b>0.125</b>	13.12
<b>Soap (boxes)</b>			
1769	36		
<b>Spermaceti Candles (lbs)</b>			
1769	2750		
1770	1075		
1771	550		
1772	1480		
<b>Total</b>	<b>5855</b>	<b>0.062</b>	363.01
<b>Sugar - Brown (cwt)</b>			
1769	8	<b>1.578</b>	12.62
<b>Sugar - Loaf (lbs)</b>			
1769	937	<b>0.031</b>	29.04

**Table 6-10 (continued)**

<b>Tallow (lbs)</b>			
1772	2100	<b>0.02</b>	42.00
<b>Tar (bbs)</b>			
1769	10		
1770	17		
1771	20		
1772	6		
<b>Total</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>0.3</b>	15.90
<b>Tobacco (lbs)</b>			
1769	873		
1771	2395		
<b>Total</b>	<b>3268</b>	<b>0.019</b>	62.09
<b>Turpentine (bbs)</b>			
1772	2	<b>0.4</b>	0.80
<b>Total All Commodities 1769-1772</b>			<b>27,966.72</b>
<b>Estimated 1768 Total</b>			<b>1,174.00</b>
<b>Total All Years 1768- 1772</b>			<b>29,140.72</b>

**Source:** Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

**Table 6-11 Value of Exports By Region from Boston: 1768 – 1772**

<b>Export Region</b>	<b>Value of Exports (£)</b>	<b>Value of Exports (%)</b>
Africa	29,140.72	2%
Southern Europe	61,723.80	4.4%
West Indies	264,615.37	18.8%
Great Britain	468,053.62	33%
Coastal	577,618.00	41%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,401,151.51</b>	<b>99%</b>
<b>Export Region</b>	<b>Value of Exports (£)</b>	<b>Value of Exports (%)</b>
Africa	29,140.72	2%
Southern Europe	61,723.80	4.4%
West Indies	264,615.37	18.8%
Great Britain	468,053.62	33%
Coastal - West Indian Commodities	339,554.92	24.2%
Coastal - Non West Indian Commodities	238,063.08	16.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,401,151.51</b>	<b>99%</b>

**Source:** Tables 6-5, 6-6, 6-7, 6-8, 6-10.

## **7.0 “MANY VESSELLS GON:”<sup>1</sup> NEW HAMPSHIRE AND THE WEST INDIES**

During the summer of 1768, Portsmouth merchant John Moffat wrote to his son Samuel that he was sending a vessel loaded with lumber to be sold in the West Indies. The elder Moffat was not, however, exactly sure where in the region his son had relocated, even though the most recent letters had arrived from the Dutch island of St. Eustatia. Faced with uncertainty, John Moffat addressed the letter to “Dominico, Estatia or Elsewhere.”<sup>2</sup> Whatever business transactions beckoned from other island destinations, Samuel Moffat permanently settled in St. Eustatia and by the early summer 1769, his “wife (Sarah), daughter Betty, the two negroes, and household furniture” were on board a ship from Portsmouth bound to the island.<sup>3</sup> John Moffat’s decision to send lumber was based on the pillars of the market: supply and demand. The plantation economy, in St. Eustatia and across the wider West Indies, required endless lumber products for carts, buildings, wharfs, houses, and especially barrels to ship out sugar, molasses and rum. New Hampshire’s forests provided the main staple which was logged, hauled, milled, and transformed into finished products along a complex labor chain which stretched from the coast into the interior – linking loggers, cattle-farmers, Gundalow operators, dockhands, sailors, shipbuilders, and merchants to the West Indian slave economy.

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<sup>1</sup> “We have had many vessels gon to the West Indies,” John Moffat to Samuel Moffat, July 28, 1768, Moffat-Ladd Papers, Folder 1-18, Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> John Moffatt to Samuel Moffatt, May 19, 1769, Moffat-Ladd Papers, Folder 1-18, Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

The elder Moffat had seen “many vessels gon” to the West Indies – loaded with cargos in Portsmouth Harbor, which served as the only gateway connecting the Piscataqua River and the wider Atlantic. Understanding New Hampshire’s relationship with the West Indies requires a focus on the Piscataqua region, which included the first four towns established in the colony: Dover, Exeter, Portsmouth and Hampton, as well as towns settled along the Piscataqua River and the tributaries flowing into it: the Winnicut, Squamscott, Lamprey, Oyster, Cocheco, Bellamy, and Salmon Falls Rivers (See Maps 1 & 2). Along these waterways scores of towns emerged and by 1773 sixty-three percent of the colony’s population resided within Rockingham and Strafford Counties, which contained the bulk of Piscataqua River region.<sup>4</sup> The river itself served as both a natural and official boundary separating New Hampshire and the Province of Maine, then part of Massachusetts.<sup>5</sup>

Environmentally, the Piscataqua region is an estuary, “a tidally dominated, partially enclosed coastal area where fresh water from rivers mixes with salt water from the ocean.”<sup>6</sup> When John Moffat’s ship left Portsmouth Harbor her captain sailed around “Great Island, on which the town of New-Castle is built,” lying “in the middle of the harbor’s mouth.”<sup>7</sup> To help guide ships in and out of the harbor a lighthouse was built on New-Castle in 1771.<sup>8</sup> The natural size of the harbor, “about a mile wide and nine and ten fathoms deep” provided excellent amenities for vessels of all sizes.<sup>9</sup> Watercrafts ranging from small, flat-bed Gundalow to 25 ton

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<sup>4</sup> My figures are drawn from the New Hampshire Census of 1773, reprinted in *New Hampshire Provincial and State Papers*, Volume 10, edited by Nathan Bouton (New Hampshire 1877), 636.

<sup>5</sup> Maine achieved independence from Massachusetts and achieved statehood in 1820.

<sup>6</sup> Richard Ober, “The Piscataqua Region: An Ecological Overview,” in *Cross-Grained & Wily Waters*, ed. W. Jeffrey Bolster, (Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Peter E. Randall, 2002), 2.

<sup>7</sup> Jeremy Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, Volume III (Boston 1792), 197.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 197.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 198.

schooners to large, 200 ton ships along with various sized snows, brigs, and sloops all enjoyed the “good anchorage” found in the harbor.<sup>10</sup>

Bordering the waterways stood the majestic wooden sentinels which quickly became the chief commodity exported to Atlantic markets, especially the West Indies. The forests were filled with birch, oak, and walnut, but the mighty pines became the main species of initial interest. These trees were seen as filling a desperate need for the English market – as masts for the ships of the Royal Navy. Deforestation had led English shipbuilders to import trees from the Baltic region, putting the nation in a precarious and vulnerable position when warfare closed off this area.<sup>11</sup> The “discovery” of large pines, ranging in size anywhere from 120 to 200 feet or more with diameters of “twenty to forty inches,” provided an important alternative to the Baltic supply.<sup>12</sup> Partially because of the strategic nature of the “mast trade” historians have almost completely ignored the West Indian trade, which was both larger in size and duration, as this chapter will demonstrate.

To establish accurately the parameters of the West Indian trade for New Hampshire’s economy between 1700 and 1775, this chapter examines the colony’s overall trading patterns through the use of customs records. These are sampled for certain available years before 1768, and then I utilize the only complete data series, which runs from 1768 through 1772.<sup>13</sup> Finally, this is supplemented by the use of a “newly” discovered customs record for Portsmouth,

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 198. For the variety of ships of various tonnage, see the Portsmouth Port Records, Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Albion, *Forests and Sea Power, the Timber Problem of the Royal Navy: 1652-1862* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), 95-230.

<sup>12</sup> Jeremy Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, Volume III (Boston: Belknap & Young, 1792), 73.

<sup>13</sup> James F. Shepherd, *Commodity Imports into the British North American Colonies from Southern Europe and the West Indies, 1768-1772*, Paper No. 270 – February 1970, Institute for Research in the Behavioral, Economic, and Management Sciences (Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana): 1. The complete customs series is the Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK. The 1770-1775 series are the Portsmouth Port Records, Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

covering 1770-1775. It will then be possible to measure the importance and the impact of the West Indian slave economy for New Hampshire against the trade with other regions: Southern Europe, England, Africa, or even other mainland American colonies. This methodology will reveal the specific trading dimensions crucial in understanding the nature of the colony's economic development, especially its dependence upon the Atlantic slave economy of the West Indies.

The tendency to lump New Hampshire with "New England" has led to some misleading statements about New Hampshire's colonial trade. For example, David Richardson asserts that "New England imports in 1768-72 were dominated by Britain, with almost two-thirds of them coming from the mother country."<sup>14</sup> Yet, when we separate New Hampshire from New England and use the same customs data Richardson cites, the West Indies, not England, was actually the largest area of direct importation.<sup>15</sup>

This chapter provides a corrective to New Hampshire's existing historiography, which has basically ignored any connection between the colony and the West Indies. Despite the assertion that Jeremy Belknap's famous three-volume *History of New Hampshire* "is the most useful for students of the colonial period," anyone searching for economic facts, especially any mention of trade, will come away disappointed - since they are mostly absent.<sup>16</sup> In the first two volumes of his magnum opus Belknap wrote about religion, warfare and politics but the highly

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<sup>14</sup> David Richardson, "Slavery, Trade and Economic Growth in Eighteenth Century New England" in Barbara L. Solow, ed. *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System* (Cambridge University Press, New York 1991), 249-250. As I noted in the introduction, Richardson is using the data supplied in James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial America* (Cambridge University Press, New York 1972).

<sup>15</sup> See Table 5 for details, which I elaborate on later in the chapter and provide details of New Hampshire's imports. Let me be clear here, I am not arguing British imports were unimportant for New Hampshire, only that the regional approach Richardson used can confuse as much as clarify when applied to a specific colony.

<sup>16</sup> The comment is from Jere Daniell bibliographic discussion in his *Colonial New Hampshire* (Millwood: KTO Press, 1981), 254. Jeremy Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, Volumes I-III (Philadelphia and Boston 1784-1792).

salient facts regarding the colony's economic integration into the Atlantic slave economy of the West Indies were carefully omitted.<sup>17</sup> The final volume contained a single chapter devoted to "Trade, Navigation, Fishery and Manufactures," where Belknap began with the Mast trade, before continuing to shipbuilding and then briefly added about the West Indies: "Our own merchants also built ships of two and three hundred tons; which were employed in voyages, to the British sugar islands, with a lading of lumber, fish, oil and livestock."<sup>18</sup>

A more recent synthesis by Jere Daniell observed that after 1715 "overseas trade...provided the most dynamic element in New Hampshire's economic growth" but the author gave no attention to the West Indies, the largest area absorbing the colony's trade goods.<sup>19</sup> Even Charles Clark's *The Eastern Frontier*, which deftly chronicles the rise of the frontier region of Northern New England, including New Hampshire, has little to say about the West Indies.<sup>20</sup> Still, the importance of the region for New Hampshire's economy has not escaped the careful eye of David Van Deventer, whose rigorous scholarship provides excellent details regarding cargos, destinations and overall vicissitudes of the colony's Atlantic commerce. Yet, he ignores his own evidence about the centrality of the West Indies as an export region, leading him to understate its importance for New Hampshire's own development.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> A point further analyzed in the last chapter. For his summary of "the trade of the province," a scant three pages which only deal with a single year, 1735, See Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, Volume II, page 117.

<sup>18</sup> Jeremy Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, Volume III (Belknap & Young, Boston 1792). The chapter runs from page 203 to 227, the line is on page 204.

<sup>19</sup> Daniell, *Colonial New Hampshire*, 154. Daniell relegates New Hampshire's pre-1775 economic history to five pages, and essentially end his analysis in 1752. See pages 150-155 for his brief overview.

<sup>20</sup> Charles E. Clark, *The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England 1610-1763* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970).

<sup>21</sup> See Table 7, pages 162-163, which clearly indicate that for most of the select years used (1695, 1723, 1725, 1727, 1735, 1742, and 1752) the West Indies were a larger percentage of both vessels and tonnage. The only two exceptions are 1727, where as a percentage of the total tonnage exported the West Indies represented 31.3%, versus 32.8% for Great Britain (and thus, the two were almost equal), and 1742, where England's draw was larger: 44.8% versus 34.2%. Despite the overwhelming presence of the West Indies as an export region, Van Deventer has almost nothing to say about it in relation to New Hampshire's own economic development in his otherwise excellent study.



State histories and regional works have hardly fared better in their treatment of the colony's economic relationship with the Caribbean. James Squire's *The Granite State of the United States*, correctly noted the "lucrative" nature of the West Indian trade but wrongly attributed the region's importance as one point in the "triangle trade," suggesting that New Hampshire ships were major slave carriers along the African coast.<sup>22</sup> Even a work specializing in the Piscataqua region such as William G. Saltonstall's *Ports of Piscataqua* largely reduces the West Indian trade to a story about "West India rum" without noting the importance of the trade for the wider colonial economy.<sup>23</sup>

New Hampshire has been known for its lumber exports but the emphasis has been on England and the mast trade.<sup>24</sup> Robert Albion's *Forests and Sea Power* and Joseph Malone's *Pine Trees and Politics* both stress the dynamics of the mast trade, in economic, military and political terms, and ignore the importance of timber products leaving the Piscataqua for the West Indies. Since Albion focused on the importance of timber from England's perspective, this appears more understandable but Malone provided exhaustive coverage of New Hampshire timber but says little about exports to the West Indies.<sup>25</sup> Certainly the use of tall pines had strategic importance for the Royal Navy but their impact on the New Hampshire's economic development has obscured the stronger West Indian market which grew significantly as the eighteenth century progressed.

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David E. Van Deventer, *The Emergence of Provincial New Hampshire, 1623-1741* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976).

<sup>22</sup> James Duane Squires, *The Granite State of the United States: A History of New Hampshire from 1623 to the Present*, Volume I (New York: The American Historical Company, Inc., 1956), 70. New Hampshire's direct participation in the African slave trade was minimal, as is detailed later in this chapter in footnote 65.

<sup>23</sup> William G. Saltonstall, *Ports of Piscataqua* (New York: Russel & Russel, 1941).

<sup>24</sup> Robert Albion, *Forests and Sea Power, the Timber Problem of the Royal Navy: 1652-1862* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1926), Joseph Malone, *Pine Trees and Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964).

<sup>25</sup> Curiously, Malone does include the West Indies in his chart at the end of his text. See Appendix E, page 154-155, which utilizes some of the same customs material used in this chapter.

Whatever their eventual market destination, New Hampshire's forests were filled with a variety of trees. Though oak and pine dominated the Piscataqua region, hemlock, ash, beech, and birch dotted the landscape. The towering white pines so favored by English shipwrights loomed over the colonists, who had never seen trees of this size and shape.<sup>26</sup> Converting any of these wooden sentinels, from pine to oak, into saleable commodities began earnestly in the seventeenth century and quickly accelerated so that by 1660, when the colony was still part of Massachusetts, the Piscataqua region had already become "the chief lumber port of the northern colonies."<sup>27</sup> However, transforming raw wood for usable disposal on the market depended upon a complex labor and transportation chain centered on the development of sawmills in the colony.

Along the banks of the Piscataqua, stretching down every branch of the Winnicut, Squamscott, Lamprey, Oyster, Cocheco, Bellamy, and Salmon Falls rivers, workers took advantage of free waterpower and built an increasing number of sawmills. More than twenty hummed with activity as early as 1665 along the Piscataqua and its up-river links.<sup>28</sup> By 1700, over fifty mills, "the least of which do twenty times the work of two men," in the words of one observer, were busily shredding large trunks into shingles, planks, and boards, not to mention masts.<sup>29</sup> At least twenty more were up and running six years later.<sup>30</sup> In 1729, Jeremiah Dunbar surveyed their number and found "above a hundred saw-mills."<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983), 109-110.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 110.

<sup>28</sup> Clark, *The Eastern Frontier*, 55.

<sup>29</sup> Council of Trade and Plantations to the Lords Justice, October 15, 1700, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1574-1739 CD-ROM*, consultant editors Karen Ordahl Kupperman, John C. Appleby and Mandy Banton, (London: Routledge, published in association with the Public Record Office, copyright 2000). Hereafter abbreviated as CSPCD.

<sup>30</sup> Malone, *Pine Trees and Politics*, 57.

<sup>31</sup> Jeremiah Dunbar to David Dunbar, March 26, 1729, CSPCD.

Before trees met the millmen's saw, however, they encountered the loggers axe. The heaviest logging was usually done in the winter season, when the snow on the ground acted as a cushion for the trees to prevent cracking and breaking the trunks.<sup>32</sup> But the heavy snowfalls in New Hampshire often impeded transportation. "Excessive snowfall," which occurred with some regularity in New Hampshire's winter months, often made travel "impracticable" and coupled with the freezing temperatures and severe frost, could even lead to death for those working outside.<sup>33</sup>

Nathan Folsom of Newmarket was one such casualty of these conditions. Busily working on a Gundalow "laden with Boards" on the Lamprey River in Newmarket, Folsom succumbed to the cold and "perished." His two companions were likewise "much froze," but they "were likely to recover."<sup>34</sup> The year before, the only newspaper for the colony, *The New Hampshire Gazette*, recorded the deep chill in the Portsmouth air during late February by observing how "the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 52 degrees below freezing."<sup>35</sup>

Folsom's decision to work outside, even in cold temperatures, may have stemmed from his willingness to gamble that conditions might remain stable – an uncertain prospect in the seacoast region, but equally dicey even in the interior of New Hampshire. Timothy Walker of Concord recorded sharp temperature swings in his diary. Days of snow fall and very cold temperatures were followed by two days when the weather shifted and became "warm or moderate."<sup>36</sup> Walker noted weather changes in a single day, like on January 9, 1746, when snowfall "then turned to rain" and was followed by "very cold" conditions for the next two

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<sup>32</sup> Colonel Dunbar to the Duke of New Castle, February 2, 1730, CSPCD.

<sup>33</sup> Jeremiah Dunbar to David Dunbar, December 15, 1728, CSPCD.

<sup>34</sup> *The New Hampshire Gazette*, November 25, 1774.

<sup>35</sup> *The New Hampshire Gazette*, February 26, 1773.

<sup>36</sup> Diary entries of Timothy Walker for December 22-27, 1746, in *Collections New Hampshire Historical Society*: Volume 9 (Concord 1889), 125.

days.<sup>37</sup> These challenging working conditions might last into the spring, as snow storms arrived as late as mid-March. Such hazards made for “very miry going” in Walker’s words, and for those trying to safely cut a tree, let alone move it from the forest to a river, the prices paid for the West Indian market could be steep, as they were for Nathan Folsom.<sup>38</sup>

Even under the best of weather conditions, moving cut trees posed another set of challenges. Overland travel from the forests to the mills was impractical; the woods lacked proper roads, so trees were moved by water. However, getting the trees to the water involved a separate labor process, where men utilized animal power for locomotion. Lacking sufficient manpower to haul these massive wooden hulks, workers turned to teams of oxen. A fairly sizable number were often required to haul New Hampshire’s large trees. Often these oxen teams were quite large, collectively over the season involving “many hundred yoke of oxen drawing timber on sleads upon the snow which in the woods is level.”<sup>39</sup> Deforestation increasingly led men to travel “8, 10, 12 miles to water carriage” from the cutting sites, while others had to travel much further, over twenty miles inland to find suitable timber for masts.<sup>40</sup> Still, by one account the large oxen teams of 120 “made nothing” of this distance, trudging through the snow with determination, though they also had to face the challenges of heavy snowfall, ice and frost.<sup>41</sup>

Led by a steady driver, teams of oxen streamed together as the fallen trees were hauled through the snow to the water’s edge. Upon reaching a tributary river linked to the Piscataqua, perhaps the Lamprey or the Cocheco, logs were dumped or rolled into the water for the next stage in the transportation process. Gundalow operators like Nathan Folsom guided the logs

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<sup>37</sup> Diaries of Timothy Walker, *Collections New Hampshire Historical Society*: Volume 9 (Concord 1889), 125.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, March 16, 1746 where Walker recorded a “N: East storm.”

<sup>39</sup> Colonel Dunbar to the Duke of Newcastle, February 2, 1730, CSPCD.

<sup>40</sup> Colonel Dunbar to the Duke of Newcastle, February 2, 1730, and Council of Trade and Plantations to the Lords Justices, October 15, 1700, CSPCD.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

downstream to the appropriate mill. Moving the giant trees to the river required great skill, determination, luck, and labor power.

Once at the sawmills, the trees were fed into the blades and turned into masts, spars, planks, shingles, hoops, staves and heading, clapboards, and shaken hogsheads.<sup>42</sup> Often more refined woodwork would follow, as New Hampshire craftsmen turned raw wood into door-frames, desks, chairs, house and window-frames, corner-boards, window shutters, and even a crude eighteenth century version of pre-fabricated housing.<sup>43</sup> Nearly every ship leaving the Piscataqua for the West Indies carried furniture destined for the plantation houses of the West Indies.<sup>44</sup> Portsmouth craftsman were especially noted for their woodworking skills.<sup>45</sup> The total number of men owning and operating these saw mills remains unknown but one observer noted that as few as two might work one blade, including the owner.<sup>46</sup>

After the millmen transformed the raw lumber, the products were moved to the ships, a task requiring another complex transportation system. While some items might be loaded onto carts for overland travel, this increased labor costs and poor road conditions made this option unlikely. Even short distances between towns were marred by roads unfit for either carriages or even horseback. This, combined with the large volume of wood products, favored “water

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<sup>42</sup> All but the first two items of this list, spars and masts, were categories used by Customs officials to record the variety of wood products leaving Piscataqua Harbor. See the Portsmouth Port Records, Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for details.

<sup>43</sup> Many of the cargos leaving Piscataqua contained one or more of these items. For one ship that seemingly carried every type of refined wood product to the West Indies, see the cargo listing for the Ship *The Rising Sun*, which cleared out on January 23, 1771. See the Portsmouth Port Records, Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, New Hampshire. For the pre-fabs, see “Portsmouth Prefabs, 1772 and 1849,” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, (Volume 23, March 1964), 43-44.

<sup>44</sup> Based on my survey of the one thousand six hundred and ninety four cargos recorded in the Portsmouth Port Records from 1770 to 1775. See the Portsmouth Port Records, Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for details.

<sup>45</sup> Elizabeth Adams Rhodes, “The Furnishing of Portsmouth Houses, 1750-1775,” *Historical New Hampshire* (Spring 1973), 1-19; Brock W. Jobe, “An Introduction to Portsmouth Furniture of the Mid-Eighteenth Century,” *Old-Time New England* (Volume 72, 1987), 163-195.

<sup>46</sup> Colonel Dunbar to Governor Belcher, August 18, 1730, CSPCD.

carriage” as most lumber pieces were loaded on the Gundalows or guided to the ships anchoring in Piscataqua Harbor. Considering the vast amount of timber cut, sawed, transformed and shipped out of New Hampshire (see below), a sizable number of men were engaged in this activity and, after farming, it was likely the biggest sector of employment.

Extensive cutting led to deforestation as loggers moved further inland in search of larger trees for the mast and West India trades. The devastation wrought by aggressive and wasteful woodcutting filled page after page of colonial reports to England. The existence of “a vast extent of woods” was no protection against the unregulated and unrelenting cutting in New Hampshire and colonial officials constantly worried about the “great waste and havock of timber” as colonists cut down trees in a prodigious manner.<sup>47</sup> The fifty plus sawmills humming by 1700 were “constantly at worke in the little province of New Hampshire,” reducing the forests at an alarming rate and report after report urged that some action be taken to “prevent the destruction of these woods.”<sup>48</sup>

During the seventeenth century a sizable amount of timber was shipped to Massachusetts for re-export. Richard Coote, who was simultaneously governor of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and New York, noted how “almost all the timber” Boston merchants exported had originated from their northern neighbor. In addition, he observed how New Hampshire’s woods provided “very nearly all the sawn timber used in building Boston and in all the towns on the sea-coast” of Massachusetts. New Hampshire’s trees even provided infrastructure for “the town

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<sup>47</sup> Council of Trade and Plantations to the Lords Justices, October 15, 1700, CSPCD.

<sup>48</sup> Multiple reports used this expression. For a small sample, see Council of Trade and Plantations to the Lords Justices, October 15, 1700 and Mr. Slade to David Dunbar, December 16, 1728, CSPCD.

of New York and most of that province.” Coote was simply overwhelmed by “the vast consumption of timber there must be in that little Province.”<sup>49</sup>

Voracious harvesting led Coote, and every subsequent governor of New Hampshire, to suggest some remedy to protect the largest trees from wholesale cutting. By the fall of 1700, Coote lamented “the waste made in the woods” and the absence of any “sufficient provision yet made for the preservation of any of those woods.” Such comments were echoed a decade later by Lt. Governor Usher writing to the Council of Trade and Plantations in England of “the great waste and destruction” of New Hampshire’s forests, which were in “havock” due to the unprecedented lumbering activities.<sup>50</sup>

Attempts were made to restrict cutting the largest trees, those most suited for use as masts for the Royal Navy, but all other trees were left unprotected. Even this minimal protection was ignored by almost every element in New Hampshire society. Trees, big or small, were too valuable as export commodities and so what little regulation was passed proved insufficient and the cutting continued.<sup>51</sup> By 1727, reports continued to document the “ruinous state of the King’s woods in New England and that the laws for preventing the same have been evaded and rendered in a manner useless and ineffectual.” Agents for the Royal Contractor had to abandon the Piscataqua region for trees fit for the Royal Navy and travel “100 miles further along the coast”, placing them in the province of Maine – then part of Massachusetts – and even here they were forced “to work a great way up in the woods.” The sheer volume of trees being cut into boards

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<sup>49</sup> Governor Richard Coote, the Earl of Bellomont, to the Council of Trade and Plantations, April 23, 1700, CSPCD. Awestruck by the sheer volume of timber cut and exported from New Hampshire, Coote was likely exaggerating the extent to which the colony’s timber ended up in New York, which contained sizable forests, though his observations about Boston may have more merit since the town faced constant wood shortages beginning in the seventeenth century.

<sup>50</sup> Lt. Governor Usher to Council of Trade and Plantations, February 8, 1710, CSPCD.

<sup>51</sup> Malone and Albion, *passim*. For one example of a “common practice” by which colonists evaded the law regarding cutting, see the comments of Thomas Haley to David Dunbar, January 23, 1729, CSPCD.

for export continued to surprise and alarm officials; “many thousands of pine-trees fit for masts of very large dimensions have been lately destroy’d and cut into boards.”<sup>52</sup> A majority of those boards were likely headed to the West Indies, a fact unnoted by the official.

Official reports detailed timber shipments of masts for the Britain and Iberian nations and completely ignored the growing demand for wood products in the West Indies.<sup>53</sup> The “great waste and destruction” partially stemmed from the prodigious cutting as loggers turned large pines and oaks into planks, staves and heading. While officials continuously noted the shipment of masts and other naval stores, they ignored the much larger and more substantial shipments of timber to other American ports, especially in the slave colonies located in the south and the West Indies. This likely stemmed from their concern with the strategic importance of masts for the Royal Navy and the shipment of such a valuable commodity like masts to imperial rivals Spain and France. This focus, however, led officials to concentrate on the shipment of masts and link this commodity with the destruction of the forests rather than the increased economic activity in the West Indies and the need for wood products, especially barrel staves and hoops for the construction of hogsheads to ship sugar, molasses and rum.

The Governor’s report to the Lords of Trade and Plantation in 1730 exemplifies this trend.<sup>54</sup> It correctly identifying the two major overseas trading regions: “the Caribee Islands, whither we send lumber and fish, and receive for it rum, sugar, molasses and Cotton” and “the trade to Europe...to Spain or Portugal, from whence our vessels bring home salt.” But the report ignored trade with other mainland American colonies and rather curiously omitted the mast trade to England. In addition, the shipping fleet was portrayed as rather meager, “ships belonging to

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<sup>52</sup> Ralph Gulston to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, January 24, 1726-27, CSPCD.

<sup>53</sup> In fact, this may be part of the reason why the mast trade has been the focus of historical inquiry rather than the West Indian trade.

<sup>54</sup> *New Hampshire Provincial Papers*, Volume IV: 1722-1737 (Manchester 1870), 532.



the Province are five, consisting of about five hundred tons, and there are about three or four hundred tons of other shipping trade here (annually) not belonging to the Province.” Finally, only “forty seafaring men” were estimated as crewing this small fleet.<sup>55</sup>

However, surviving customs records tell a different story. Thirty ships left Piscataqua from the last quarter of 1723, between September 25, 1723 and the first quarter of 1724, ending on March 25, 1724 (Table 7.1).<sup>56</sup> As the chart illustrates, roughly half of the clearances were split between the slave societies of the southern American colonies – three to Maryland, three to South Carolina and one to North Carolina, for a total of seven ships – and another seven ships to the slave societies of the West Indies – five to Barbados, one to Jamaica and one to St. Christopher. Thus, the West Indies accounted for just under one-quarter (23.3%) of all clearances. The other half of the voyages were to Iberian ports (6 ships), England (5 ships), and Boston (4 ships), areas characterized by a free labor system. Furthermore, the records detail that over 1,600 tons of shipping was crewed by some two hundred and six men in thirty different ships.<sup>57</sup> Did the trade dramatically drop in six years between 1723 and 1730? There is no indication of such a drop recorded by William Pepperrell, a leading Piscataqua merchant who continued to expand his shipping activities during this time and who would have undoubtedly recorded such a precipitous decline.<sup>58</sup>

The estimates were incorrect but the report’s account of the primary exports leaving Portsmouth was not: “timber, principally oak, pine, hemlock, ash, beach & birch, and fish. They

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 532.

<sup>56</sup> Of course, there is no way of knowing if these two quarters represent averages which might hold for the other quarters which are missing. I have cautiously used only the data that is available. Still, we can probably safely assume that ships did continue to leave the port during the rest of the year – as they did during other years for which we have more complete data. The data for the Chart is derived from the *New Hampshire Naval Office Shipping Lists 1726-1769*, CO 5/967, London, PRO, TNA, London, U.K. 5/967.

<sup>57</sup> *New Hampshire Naval Office Shipping List 1723-1769*, CO 5/967, PRO, TNA, London, U.K. 5/967.

<sup>58</sup> Byron Fairchild, *Messrs. William Pepperrell: Merchants at Piscataqua* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954). As Fairchild notes, Pepperrell’s trade was actually increasing during this time, see pages 48-123 for details.

are the only commoditys of the Place. The Timber is generally manufactur'd into beams, plank, knees, clap-boards, shingle & staves, and sometimes into house-frames." Overall, the report concluded, "the Trade is much the same as it hath been for ten years past," a claim that cannot be accurate when compared with the customs data recorded in the *Naval Office Shipping List* for New Hampshire.<sup>59</sup> The majority of the cargos for 1723-1724 contained lumber but rarely specified either the amount or type of wood, though we may safely assume the varieties described in the 1730 report with pine and oak dominating. Only eight cargos mention fish, all but one in combination with lumber shipments, with four headed to the Iberian ports of Madeira, Bilbao, and the Straights, and four to the West Indies.<sup>60</sup>

New Hampshire's West Indian orientation increased between the 1720s and the early 1750s, with more voyages heading to the region as the sugar and slavery complex experienced further economic expansion.<sup>61</sup> Customs data record how the export trade to England declined between 1727 and 1752, when eight ships carrying 1,160 tons and representing 32.8% of the total in 1727 fell dramatically by 1752 to twelve ships carrying 1,955 tons representing only 19.1%. By comparison, the twenty ships headed to the West Indies in 1727 carrying 1,105 tons represented 31.3% of the total that year but by 1752 eighty-four vessels totaling 5,392 tons accounted for 52.7% of the total tonnage that year. The *Naval Office Shipping Lists* for the year 1752 detail New Hampshire's growing dependence upon the slave societies of the West Indies (Table 7.2).

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<sup>59</sup> *New Hampshire Provincial Papers*, Volume IV: 1722-1737 (Manchester 1870), 532.

<sup>60</sup> *New Hampshire Naval Office Shipping List 1723-1769*, CO 5/967, PRO, TNA, London. From this point forward, unless otherwise noted, the phrase "West Indies" includes the British, French, Dutch and Spanish West Indies.

<sup>61</sup> For details of this expansion see Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery* (New York: Verso, 1997), 401-456; John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 144-168, and Richard Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973). Van Deventer noted the shift in New Hampshire's West Indian trade, pinpointing the "rapid increase" of exports to this region occurring after 1739. Van Deventer, *The Emergence of Provincial New Hampshire*, 167.

Due to the incomplete nature of shipping records, full year to year comparisons are unavailable until the era just prior to the American Revolution, 1768-1775, when New Hampshire's deep dependency upon the West Indian markets can be fully explored.<sup>62</sup> Between these years, approximately 2,342 vessels left Piscataqua for various ports in the Atlantic. However, one region in particular dominated all others, the West Indies (Table 7.3). One thousand four hundred and seventy-three voyages went to this area, accounting for 63% of the total number of all voyages made for these eight years. Although specific island destinations were sometimes recorded, ships often moved from island to island, from Barbados to Montserrat, from Jamaica to St. Kitts, "to try the market."<sup>63</sup>

The rest of the voyages clearing from Portsmouth sailed to various Atlantic ports. Some three hundred and seventy one vessels made their way to Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, but really this was a Portsmouth – Massachusetts trade since over 90% of the voyages headed for the ports of Boston, Falmouth, Salem, Marblehead, and Gloucester. In total, these intra-New England trips constituted 16% of the total number of voyages. One hundred and fifty-five voyages (7%) were to the southern colonies of Virginia, Maryland, North and South Carolina and Georgia. There were slightly fewer trips to the Canadian ports in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Quebec, one hundred and twenty-seven trips or 5%. Destinations to the middle colonies of New York and Pennsylvania were far less frequent, accounting for only seventy trips

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<sup>62</sup> For details on the sources used to arrive at the figures in this and subsequent paragraphs, see Appendix 1 – Methodologies and Sources.

<sup>63</sup> Comments of Captain Jacob Wilds on board the Brig *Liberty*, January 26, 1775. Wilds sailed out from Biddeford (located in present day Maine but then known as the province of "Maine" and part of Massachusetts) went from Barbados to Martinique to St. Vincent to St. Eustatia in search of unloading his cargo of lumber before returning home. See Logbook of the Ship *Liberty*, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts. Likewise, Captain Parker, who cleared out from Portsmouth, had "run thro' all the islands, even "to Jamaica," as he tried to unload his cargo. George Boyd, July 10, 1773, in *The Letterbook of George Boyd, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Merchant-Shipbuilder, 1773-1775, Part II*, ed. Charles Wetherell, *Historical New Hampshire* (Volume 46, No.2, Summer, 1991), 108.

or 3% of the total.<sup>64</sup> Finally, transatlantic voyages were sparse: one hundred and nine ships traveled to Great Britain, about 5%, thirty to Europe, barely 1% and only seven went to Africa, a mere .3%.<sup>65</sup>

In addition to measuring the total number of voyages we can also establish tonnage figures for the years between 1768 and 1772 to provide additional information regarding the level of trading activity to these regions and which is very likely indicative of the years 1773, 1774 and 1775, for which complete data is unavailable (Table 7.4).<sup>66</sup> Portsmouth ships exported 97,186 tons of materials to various Atlantic ports, with the West Indies accounting for the largest share: 66,243 tons or 66% of the total tonnage between 1768 and 1772. Great Britain and New England were the next two largest markets, with slightly more sent to former, 10,900 tons or 11%, than to the latter, 9,612 tons or 9.8%. In the case of New England this is, once again, more of a trade to Massachusetts, since it was the destination of some 8,387 tons or just over 87% of the total for New England. The Southern Colonies were shipped 5,456 tons or 5.6%, and Canada 4,311 tons or 4.4%. The Middle Colonies received 1,945 tons, about 2%, while Europe and

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<sup>64</sup> There are no recorded trips to the Jerseys.

<sup>65</sup> With only seven African voyages, New Hampshire merchants played a small part in the transatlantic slave trade and even this small number overstates their direct trading relations on the African continent. Available records indicate that men outside New Hampshire owned all the ships making these voyages: Andrew McKenzie of Granada, William Martand of Newbury, Massachusetts, and Charles Johnson of Charleston, South Carolina. Leading Portsmouth merchants like William Pepperrell certainly owned slaves, but the market in the colony was very small for direct slave imports from Africa. See Fairchild, *Messrs. William Pepperrell: Merchants at Piscataqua*, 118. Slave imports from the West Indies are briefly discussed in Appendix 2 at the end of this chapter. There was a small slave population in New Hampshire throughout the colonial period. According to the 1773 Census the entire colonial population was 72,766. Of this, there were 674 slaves. Almost all were likely from the West Indies. For details, see the 1773 Census, reprinted in *New Hampshire Provincial and State Papers*, Volume 10, edited by Nathan Bouton (New Hampshire 1877), 636. For the importation of slaves via the West Indies, see the comments of Lorenzo Greene in his pioneering work *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776* (Columbia University Press, New York 1942), 15-49, and more recently Greg O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage: Slave Migration from the Caribbean to North America, 1619-1807," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol.66, No.1 (January 2009), pages 54-60 and Tables XI, and X.

<sup>66</sup> The following is derived from the Inspector General's Customs Report 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, The National Archives, London, U.K. See Appendix 1 for more details.

Africa received even smaller shipments; 534 tons went to Europe and 185 tons to Africa, each less than 1% of the total tonnage sent from Portsmouth.

Informed with a clear picture of both the destinations and the tonnage shipped out from Piscataqua we can now examine the cargos for all overseas ports and their values for these voyages, which even more profoundly demonstrate the importance of the West Indies. Vessels leaving Portsmouth were primarily loaded with wood products, fish, and livestock consisting of cattle and horses. The total overall value of all the cargos leaving Portsmouth between 1768 and 1772 was £322,422 of which £221,820 or more than 68% of the total value was destined for the West Indies (Table 7.11). The coastal trade was worth £83,197, of which £50,267 consisted of the re-export of West Indian commodities or their derivatives (Tables 7.7 & 7.8). Rum, both New England-made and West Indian produced, were the most valuable items, followed by molasses and then sugar (Table 7.8). To these larger plantation complex centered trades must be added a more modest trade to Africa worth £2,848. In sum, all three, the direct West Indian, the indirect re-exports through the coastal trade, and the African trade were worth £274,935, more than 85% of the total value of all exports (Table 7.11).

Of the cargos for the West Indies, wood products were the most valuable, pine boards and planking especially. In five years more than 62 million board feet were exported, worth £81,107 and accounting for more than 36% of the total value of all West Indian exports. Other important wood products included staves and heading, shingles, clapboards, hoops, and shook hogsheads (Table 7.9). In addition to timber, fish was also exported. Fish shipments to the West Indies totaled 97,303 quintals, worth £55,268, and 1,880 barrels of pickled fish valued at £1410. Together, fish accounted for 25% of the value of all West Indian exports. Ships also carried livestock, including horses, cattle, sheep, and poultry. Their combined value was £24,667 or 11%

of the total value. The remaining goods ranged from whale oil, beef, pork, bread, flour, grain, Spermaceti candles, rum, houseframes, sugar boats, bricks, and others (Table 7.9).

Clearly the destinations, tonnage, and cargos of the majority of ships clearing out from Portsmouth between 1768 and 1775 were headed for the West Indies, where the demands for New Hampshire's timber products were insatiable. New Hampshire's forests provided vital commodities for the West Indian plantations, especially towards the maintenance of the physical infrastructure, which was under constant assault from a variety of environmental factors. Hurricanes constantly pounded the islands; seventy-five hit the area between 1700 and 1775, often leveling houses, mills, wharves, and any other structures – in addition to the damage inflicted on crops and people.<sup>67</sup> Even those few years when hurricanes spared the islands, the strong gusts, heavy winds and rainstorms might still cause extensive damage. If trouble borne from water was one concern, fire was yet another – whether caused by accident, lightning strikes, or slave rebellions. Fires were also started during the periods of warfare, especially as the English and French battled across the region for half the time between 1694 and 1775.<sup>68</sup> The climate itself also took its toll against wooden buildings and structures, as environmental degradation led to wood rot. Thus, from the planter's house overlooking the fields, to the wharves where ships lay anchor, to the slaves' huts, one of the primary building materials was

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<sup>67</sup> Total derived is my count from the list compiled by Andres Poey in his "A Chronological Table, comprising 400 Cyclonic Hurricanes which have occurred in the West Indies and in the North Atlantic within 362 Years, from 1493 to 1855," *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society* (Volume 25, 1853), 291-328. For additional insights about how hurricanes impacted the West Indies see Matthew Mulcahy, *Hurricanes and Society in the British West Indies* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press 2006).

<sup>68</sup> The four wars were King William's War (1689-1697), Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), King George's War (1739-1743) and the Seven Years War (1754-1763).

under constant siege and required perennial replacement.<sup>69</sup> Almost the entire physical infrastructure of the plantation system was dependent upon wood.<sup>70</sup>

Equally important in sustaining the infrastructure were the wooden containers which held all the sugar and sugar related products, such as molasses and rum that left the West Indies. Barrels or Casks were “the universal container” for shipping commodities.<sup>71</sup> The work of making suitable barrels required skilled woodworkers and a fair amount of time. One estimate is that “only a good workman could produce two barrels in a day’s work,” and the West Indian trade had an insatiable appetite for containers.<sup>72</sup> In a single year, 1770, the British West Indies alone produced roughly 3.2 million pounds of sugar, two hundred thousand gallons of molasses, and almost 11 million gallons of rum.<sup>73</sup> Between 1768 and 1772, New Hampshire exported more wood products to the West Indies than any other North American colony.<sup>74</sup> Thus, over the first three quarters of the eighteenth-century, the amount of wood required to ship out the West Indian triad of sugar, molasses and rum helped fuel New Hampshire’s expansion from the coast into the interior.

As New Hampshire’s wood products sustained the infrastructure of the sugar economy, fish helped to support its workers. Fish shipments were almost always cod, though an occasional

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<sup>69</sup> Ship’s cargo listing for the *Rising Sun*, cleared on January 23, 1771, which contained an entry for “Twelve wood frames for the negro huts.” See the Portsmouth Port Records, Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

<sup>70</sup> The important exception here is the boiling house, often made of stone. See Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 1972). Even buildings made with stone, however, were often mixed with wooden components as well.

<sup>71</sup> John J. McCusker, “The Rum Trade and the Balance of Payments of the Thirteen Colonies, 1650-1775,” (PhD, University of Pittsburgh, 1970), 773.

<sup>72</sup> McCusker, “The Rum Trade,” 772.

<sup>73</sup> David Eltis, “The Slave Economies of the Caribbean: Structure, Performance, Evolution and Significance” in Franklin W. Knight, ed. *General History of the Caribbean Volume III: The Slave Societies of the Caribbean* (UNESCO Publishing, London 1997), 117. I’ve converted the metric into pounds using the standard formula of 112 pounds for every 1 hundredweight.

<sup>74</sup> New Hampshire share of the total volume was 28%. Massachusetts was the next highest with 25%, though I suspect the vast majority actually came from the province of Maine, followed by North Carolina and Pennsylvania, each with 8.7%, Rhode Island at 5%, New York 4.8%, Georgia 4.5%, and the remaining colonies much less. My figures are derived from the Inspector General’s Reports, CUST 16/1, PRO, London.

shipment of salmon was sent. Mackerel was also sometimes packed with cod and fish cargos were sometimes labeled as pickled without designating the type of fish. Despite these variations over 95% of the voyages that sent fish sent only cod as the primary fish cargo.<sup>75</sup> Fish were an important food source for the British and French West Indian plantation regimes, which also relied on both other food imports – principally from the middle and southern colonies, and the domestic raising of provisions by slaves for sustenance.<sup>76</sup> In addition, New Hampshire's fish exports were considerably smaller than those of Massachusetts.<sup>77</sup> Finally, New Hampshire's livestock exports were not utilized for food but for powering the sugar mills; turning the rollers, crushing sugar cane, and extracting the juice, which was then transported to the boiling house.<sup>78</sup> Between 1768 and 1772, ships leaving Portsmouth brought seventeen hundred head of cattle and over one thousand horses to the islands.<sup>79</sup>

The large movement of commodities from New Hampshire to the West Indies was equally matched by the large shipment of sugar and sugar-related goods which arrived in Portsmouth Harbor. Overall, ships entering New Hampshire between 1768 and 1772 were not coming from England, Europe, or even other mainland North American colonies in significant numbers. They arrived from the West Indies, the leading region in terms of arriving ships and

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<sup>75</sup> For example, the *Sea Flower* went to the West Indies packed with a small shipment of Salmon (some 8bbs worth) but this was a rare exception to the dominant Cod shipments. The percentage is based on my survey of the one thousand six hundred and ninety four cargos recorded in the Portsmouth Port Records from 1770 to 1775.

<sup>76</sup> For food exports from the middle colonies, see John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1991), 189-208, especially Table 9.3 on page 199, and Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 1986), 97-122. For the southern colonies see Table 4 in James F. Shepherd, *Commodity Exports*, 48-50. For provision grounds and food imports generally see Woodville K. Marshall, "Provision Ground and Plantation Labour in Four Winward Islands: Competition for Resources during Slavery," *Slavery & Abolition* (Volume 12 1991), 48-67; and Richard N. Bean "Food Imports into the British West Indies: 1680-1845," in *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies* (Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, Volume 292 June 27, 1977), 581-590.

<sup>77</sup> As detailed in chapter four.

<sup>78</sup> Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 192.

<sup>79</sup> Though this was less than Connecticut's cattle exports, which were the largest of all the New England colonies, as chapter two made clear.



total tonnage imported into New Hampshire (Tables 7.5 and 7.6).<sup>80</sup> Between these five years 824 ships arrived from the West Indies, representing 57% of the total. Vessel tonnage from this area was even higher, accounting for 65% of the total. Ports in New England, principally Massachusetts were the next highest import area, 347 ships sailed into Piscataqua harbor which amounted to 24% of the total number of vessels arriving but they carried only 12,236 tons, which amounted to only 15.2% of the total.

These eight hundred and twenty four ships from the West Indies carried seven major commodities: cocoa, coffee, cotton, molasses, rum, sugar, and salt. Molasses was the largest item imported, in terms of both amount and relative value; 1,969,764 gallons were hauled off the ships in Piscataqua harbor over the five years between 1768 and 1772, accounting for over 53% of the value of all the sugar commodities (sugar, molasses and rum) imported and 41% of the value of all West Indian imports. Combined, the three sugar commodities accounted for over 77% of the total value of all the West Indian imports (Table 7.10 and Appendix C.).<sup>81</sup> Given the large amount of molasses unloaded, local distilleries were most likely busily transforming the sticky brown liquid into rum – though given the substantial amount of direct trade with Massachusetts, where some fifty-six distilleries were in operation, thirty-six in Boston alone, undoubtedly some molasses could have been sent there for processing.<sup>82</sup> Thus, in addition to the sizable lumber and maritime labor force integrated into the New Hampshire-West Indian slave economy, workers operating distilleries in New Hampshire were another group whose jobs were supported by the West Indian trade.

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<sup>80</sup> These years represent the available years for which cargo information is available.

<sup>81</sup> All calculations are mine based on the Inspector General's Reports, CUST 16/1, PRO, London. I have used the pricing data found in James F. Shepherd, *Commodity Exports*.

<sup>82</sup> McCusker, "The Rum Trade," 439. In fact, McCusker speculates that an "unreported trade" of molasses imported into New Hampshire was shipped to Northern Massachusetts overland for distilling.

The import data corrects the impression that ships were sailing from New Hampshire, to England or Europe and then back into New Hampshire.<sup>83</sup> If this had been true, the number of entrances from these regions would have been much higher than they were - which indicates that the vast majority of vessels traveled back and forth between New Hampshire and the West Indies, with possible stops along the way at other American ports.<sup>84</sup> Given the nature of the cargos entering the West Indies, lumber, fish, and livestock, stops to other coastal American ports in the middle and southern colonies would likely have been for on-board provisions or repairs caused by “ruff seas.”<sup>85</sup>

Regardless of their cargo, New Hampshire’s West Indian trade required a significant number of ships and men to build them. Shipbuilding in New Hampshire was centered in the Piscataqua region, and as the eighteenth century progressed, the ships leaving the harbor were both built and owned by local men. Of the eighty-one vessels entering and clearing Piscataqua between 1744 and 1745, sixty-six or 77.4% were built in the area and of these all but three were registered in the colony. By comparison, only fifteen were Massachusetts-built, comprising 22.6% of the total and of these, four were actually registered in New Hampshire.<sup>86</sup> As the volume of ships entering and leaving the Piscataqua region increased by the mid-1750s, more Massachusetts-built ships entered the trade. Between 1756 and 1757, one hundred and seventy

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<sup>83</sup> Clark, *The Eastern Frontier*, 322-323, and Richardson, “Slavery, Trade and Economic Growth in Eighteenth Century New England,” 249-250.

<sup>84</sup> Van Deventer also has made this point. See Van Deventer, *Emergence of Provincial New Hampshire*, 142.

<sup>85</sup> A routine entry found in several logbooks of New England vessels that encountered rough weather while sailing to the West Indies. See the logbooks for the *Liberty* and the *Betty*, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.

<sup>86</sup> Joseph A. Goldenberg, *Shipbuilding in Colonial America* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), Tables 6 and 7, 152-153.

six vessels entered and cleared the Piscataqua with eighty-six built locally, eighty-four in Massachusetts, and six in other colonies.<sup>87</sup>

By 1770, the number of ships clearing Piscataqua for the West Indies rose considerably and shipbuilders from Massachusetts, especially the North Shore region of Amesbury, Newbury and Salisbury, and the Piscataqua ports of York and Wells – in the province of Maine – dramatically increased their presence. Though incomplete, the *Portsmouth Port Records* provide a window into the state of shipbuilding regarding the four hundred and sixty seven ships that cleared Piscataqua from July 31, 1770 to September 7, 1775.<sup>88</sup> In terms of individual ports, Piscataqua shipbuilders led all others, producing one hundred and sixty ships or 34% of the total. However, as a colony, New Hampshire produced far less than Massachusetts (including the province of Maine), where shipwrights busily constructed some two hundred and eleven vessels or 45% of the total. These masters of maritime construction hoisted plank not in Boston, where a scant three ships were built, but in ports much closer to the Piscataqua, making sizable numbers of sloops, schooners, and brigs for West Indies along Portsmouth's docks. Newbury led the way with some one hundred and twenty ships, followed by Salisbury with thirty four and Amesbury with thirty. A scattering of other ports like Georgetown or Ipswich provided one or two ships as well but the other major shipbuilding region was the province of Maine. Bordering the northern side of the Piscataqua, shipbuilders in Wells constructed thirty-four ships and their counterparts in York built another twenty-four.

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<sup>87</sup> Two in South Carolina, one in North Carolina, two from St. Christopher in the West Indies, and one from Rhode Island. Ibid, Table 7, 156.

<sup>88</sup> Based on my research using the Portsmouth Port Records, 1770-1775, Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Four additional ships were listed with non-Piscataqua designations; three were in New Castle and one was in Hampton. The reason for the exclusion of the New Castle built ships from the category "Piscataqua" is puzzling given the island's close proximity to the mainland. See Map 1.

Shipbuilding commanded a tremendous amount of capital, resources, time and labor. The biggest shipbuilder in Portsmouth, George Boyd, owned some twenty ships, “worth upwards twenty thousand guineas.”<sup>89</sup> He estimated that it took “one year to have a good ship built.”<sup>90</sup> The reasons for the extensive time line involved the process whereby raw timber was transformed into more malleable instruments to shape into the basic framework for a ship, “the fall of the year is the time to cutt the timber & the summer following to build it.”<sup>91</sup> A set of skilled laborers: shipwrights, carpenters, and others were required to both construct and outfit a vessel, with sails, rigging, and anchors. Upon completion workers needed to load the cargo, a process that might take a month.<sup>92</sup> Then a crew was hired, as local tars signed on to become “hands”, as the captain spoke of his men.<sup>93</sup> A vast majority of these men would sail from Portsmouth to the West Indies, carrying lumber, furniture, livestock and fish.

The port city of Portsmouth prospered due to its links with the West Indies but the structural, economic linkages of the export trade stretched well beyond the confines of Piscataqua region. The sheer volume of lumber products required the continued expansion into the interior of the colony, connecting lumbermen, mill hands, sawyers, and other woodworkers in an expanding network of commodity production. The precise number of men employed in these trades is unknown but given the excess of two hundred sawmills in operation by 1740 across the colony and total lumber exports for that *one* year in excess of six million feet of

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<sup>89</sup> George Boyd, December 17, 1773, in *The Letterbook of George Boyd, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Merchant-Shipbuilder, 1773-1775, Part II*, ed. Charles Wetherell, *Historical New Hampshire* (Volume 46, No.2, Summer, 1991), 108.

<sup>90</sup> George Boyd, July 5, 1773, *The Letterbook of George Boyd, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Merchant-Shipbuilder, 1773-1775, Part I*, ed. Charles Wetherell, *Historical New Hampshire* (Volume 46, No.1, Spring, 1991), 27.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid*, 27.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*, 27.

<sup>93</sup> A routine entry found in several logbooks of New England vessels sailing to the West Indies. See the logbooks for the *Liberty* and the *Betty*, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.

lumber,<sup>94</sup> this was clearly an industry that required massive labor power. Demand only increased over the next generation so that by 1770 the amount of board feet of lumber exported would double to twelve million a year, without any significant technological increases in efficiency.<sup>95</sup> Due to the massive deforestation which began in the seventeenth century and continued in eighteenth, men had moved further into the interior to obtain wood for export, and this in turn, helped spur the creation of new towns.<sup>96</sup> Thus, the West Indian export market helped drive New Hampshire's internal development, which, after 1741, was also aided by the political independence from Massachusetts and the settlement of the boundary line of the colony.<sup>97</sup>

The felling and transporting of trees, cutting their massive trunks into various lumber products, and loading them on board ships bound for the West Indies required enormous labor power and provided employment for many men from the Piscataqua into the interior. Fisherman from the entire seacoast region, including Hampton, Rye, New Castle, and Dover boarded vessels trying to catch the cod to sell to West Indian merchants while farmers raised horses and cattle in towns like Somersworth, Rochester, and Londonderry. Finally, all these commodities were moved on ships, one-third of which were built in the Piscataqua region. By 1773 over half of the population of New Hampshire resided in the greater Piscataqua region, a significant proportion of them were linked to the main engine of the Atlantic slave economy.

The tendencies to either subsume New Hampshire under the general category of New England or to focus on the colony's militarily significant mast trade have rendered largely invisible the magnitude of the West Indian trade and the complex labor chain supporting it. New Hampshire's trade data reveal that over fourteen hundred ships between 1768 and 1775, a full sixty-three

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<sup>94</sup> This is the estimate given by Clark, *Eastern Frontier*, on page 97.

<sup>95</sup> Inspector General's Reports, CUST 16/1, PRO, London.

<sup>96</sup> Daniell, *Colonial New Hampshire*, 143-161.

<sup>97</sup> Van Deventer, *Emergence of Provincial New Hampshire*, 1-5.

percent of the total number of voyages from these eight years, traveled to the West Indies, carrying over sixty six thousand tons of lumber, fish and livestock. Between 1768 and 1772 over ninety percent of the total value of New Hampshire's cargos ended up in the West Indies. New Hampshire's role in sustaining this system has remained hidden, but for men like John Moffat, the truth was visible at the time, "many vessels had gone to the West Indies" bringing the core materials holding the bloody triad of sugar, molasses and rum.



**Figure 7-1 New Hampshire Piscataqua Region - 1753**

**Source:** *This plan of the British dominions of New England in North America.* By William Douglas, M.D. Created/Published: [London, 1753?]. Reference: LC Maps of North America, 1750-1789, 796; DIGITAL ID: g3720 ar079600. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3720.ar079600>. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.



**Figure 7-2 New Hampshire Piscataqua Region – 1774**

**Source:** *A map of the most inhabited part of New England, containing the provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, with the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island, divided into counties and townships: The whole composed from actual surveys and its situation adjusted by astronomical observations.* Created/Published: [London] Thos. Jefferys, 1774. Reference: LC Maps of North America, 1750-1789, 800. DIGITAL ID: g3720 ar080001 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc/gmd/g3720.ar080001>.



**Table 7-1 Ships and Tonnage Clearing New Hampshire: 1723 - 1724**

<b>Destination</b>	<b>Vessels</b>	<b>Tonnage</b>
Boston	4	210
<b>New England</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>210</b>
Maryland	3	100
North Carolina	3	200
South Carolina	1	50
<b>Southern Colonies</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>350</b>
<b>Bermuda</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>20</b>
Bilbao	1	160
Cadiz	1	30
Lisbon	1	35
Madeira	2	120
Straights	1	70
<b>Southern Europe &amp; Wine Islands</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>415</b>
Liverpool	1	40
London	1	50
Topsham	3	260
<b>England</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>350</b>
Barbados	5	146
Jamaica	1	160
St. Christopher	1	40
<b>West Indies</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>346</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>1,691</b>

**Source:** New Hampshire Naval Office Shipping List 1723-1768, CUST 5/967, PRO, TNA, London, England.

Table 7-2 New Hampshire Voyages Clearing Outwards – 1752

Destination	Vessels
<b>Boston &amp; West Indies</b>	<b>1</b>
Newfoundland	24
Halifax	12
<b>Canada</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>Philadelphia</b>	<b>6</b>
North Carolina	3
South Carolina	2
Virginia	1
<b>Southern Colonies</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Bermuda</b>	<b>1</b>
Bilbao	4
Cadiz	1
Chignecto	2
Fayal	2
<b>Southern Europe &amp; Wine Islands</b>	<b>9</b>
Biddeford	3
Bristol	1
Glasgow	1
Great Britain	5
Liverpool	1
Topsham	1
<b>England</b>	<b>11</b>
Antigua	7
Barbados	4
Montserrat	1
Port Royal	1

**Table 7-2 (continued)**

St. Christopher	2
West Indies	39
<b>West Indies - Total</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>Total - All Destinations</b>	<b>118</b>

**Source:** New Hampshire Naval Office Shipping List 1723-1768, CUST 5/967, PRO, TNA, London, England.

**Table 7-3 New Hampshire Vessels Clearing Outwards: 1768 – 1775**

<b>Destination</b>	<b>Vessels</b>	<b>%</b>
Great Britain	114	4.9%
Europe	28	1.2%
Africa	7	>1%
Canada	129	5.5%
New England	329	14.2%
Middle Colonies	70	3.0%
Southern Colonies	161	6.9%
West Indies	1,474	63.7%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>2,312</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Sources:** Inspector General Report, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, England; *New Hampshire Gazette*; and Portsmouth Port Records, 1770-1775, Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

**Table 7-4 New Hampshire Tonnage Clearing Outward, 1768 – 1772**

	<b>1768</b>	<b>1769</b>	<b>1770</b>	<b>1771</b>	<b>1772</b>	<b>1768-1772</b>	
<b>Region</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>Totals</b>	<b>%</b>
Great Britain	2,185	1,890	1,910	1,665	3,250	10,900	11%
Europe	55	150	90	140	99	534	0.5%
Africa	0	20	95	0	70	185	0.2%
Canada	591	627	1,308	866	919	4,311	4.4%
New England	846	1,789	2,769	2,617	1,591	9,612	9.8%
Middle Colonies	195	385	475	425	465	1,945	2%
Southern Colonies	955	1,033	1,126	1,042	1,300	5,456	5.6%
West Indies	13,780	12,878	12,419	13,510	11,656	64,243	66%
<b>Total - All Regions</b>	<b>18,607</b>	<b>18,772</b>	<b>20,192</b>	<b>20,265</b>	<b>19,350</b>	<b>97,186</b>	<b>99.5%</b>

**Source:** Inspector General Report, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, England.

**Table 7-5 Vessels Entering New Hampshire, 1768 – 1772**

	<b>1768</b>	<b>1769</b>	<b>1770</b>	<b>1771</b>	<b>1772</b>	<b>1768-1772</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>REGION</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>Total Vessels</b>	
Great Britain	8	11	8	4	7	38	<b>2.6%</b>
Europe	2	1	0	1	2	6	<b>&gt;1</b>
Africa	0	1	0	0	0	1	<b>&gt;1</b>
Canada	27	14	18	12	19	90	<b>6.2%</b>
New England	75	56	66	90	60	347	<b>24%</b>
Middle Colonies	9	9	11	10	10	49	<b>3.3%</b>
Southern Colonies	15	23	13	26	15	92	<b>6.3%</b>
West Indies	167	202	166	143	146	824	<b>57%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>317</b>	<b>282</b>	<b>286</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>1,447</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source:** Inspector General Report, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, England.

**Table 7-6 Tonnage Entering New Hampshire, 1768 – 1772**

<b>Region</b>	<b>1768</b>	<b>1769</b>	<b>1770</b>	<b>1771</b>	<b>1772</b>	<b>1768 - 1772</b>	<b>%</b>
	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>Total Tonnage</b>	
Great Britain	915	1,890	1,200	380	1,265	5,650	7%
Europe	480	150	0	100	90	820	>1%
Africa	0	20	0	0	0	20	>1%
Canada	1,172	627	805	587	828	4,019	5%
New England	2,406	1,789	2,106	3,834	2,101	12,236	15.2%
Middle Colonies	335	385	485	425	380	2,010	2.5%
Southern Colonies	638	1,033	366	991	555	3,583	4.4%
West Indies	9,500	12,878	10,300	9,252	9,824	51,754	64.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>15,446</b>	<b>18,772</b>	<b>15,262</b>	<b>15,569</b>	<b>15,043</b>	<b>80,092</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source:** Inspector General Report, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, England.

Table 7-7 New Hampshire Coastal Trade, 1768 – 1772

Commodity	Quantity Exported	Price	Value (£)
<b>Anchors (t, cwt, q)</b>			
1771	2		
<b>Apples - Common</b>			
1768	139		
1770	331		
1771	50		
<b>Total</b>	520		
<b>Ashes - Pearl (t, cwt)</b>			
1769	3 t		
1771	2 t, 10 cwt		
1772	1 t, 10 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	6 t, 20 ct	<b>40L/T</b>	<b>240.00</b>
<b>Ashes - Pot (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1769	23 t, 5 cwt		
1770	13 t, 10 cwt		
1771	29 t, 10 cwt		
1772	48 t, 18 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	115 t	<b>30L/T</b>	<b>3450.00</b>
<b>Axes (n)</b>			
1768	42		
1769	354		
1770	300		
1771	295		
1772	284		
<b>Total</b>	1,275		
<b>Bark (cords)</b>	30		
<b>Beer (lbs.)</b>			
1771	69		
1772	194		



Table 7-7 (continued)

<b>Total</b>	263		
<b>Beeswax (lbs)</b>			
1770	50		
1771	50		
<b>Total</b>	100	<b>0.049</b>	<b>4.90</b>
<b>Brass &amp; Old (lbs)</b>			
1770	450		
1771	850		
1772	900		
<b>Total</b>	2,200		
<b>Bread &amp; Flour (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	4 t, 7 cwt, 3 q, 6 lbs		
1769	66 t, 4 cwt		
1770	40 t, 3 cwt, 2 q		
1771	8 t, 14 cwt		
1772	52 t, 5 cwt, 1 q		
<b>Total</b>	171 t	<b>11/T</b>	<b>1881.00</b>
<b>Bricks (n)</b>			
1768	5,600		
1769	42,900		
1770	63,500		
1771	38,000		
1772	70,000		
<b>Total</b>	220,000	<b>0.0005</b>	<b>110.00</b>
<b>Butter (lbs.)</b>	210	<b>0.02</b>	<b>4.20</b>
<b>Candles - Spermaceti (lbs)</b>			
1770	25		
1771	900		
<b>Total</b>	925	<b>.062/lbs</b>	<b>57.35</b>
<b>Candles - Tallow (lbs)</b>			

Table 7-7 (continued)

1768	1,384		
1769	2,270		
1770	300		
1772	200		
<b>Total</b>	4,154	<b>0.02</b>	<b>83.08</b>
<b>Cattle</b>			
1768	102		
1769	56		
1770	82		
1771	100		
1772	53		
<b>Total</b>	393	<b>4.5L</b>	<b>1768.50</b>
<b>Cheese (lbs)</b>			
1768	838		
1769	4,460		
1770	1,000		
1771	3,040		
1772	3,612		
<b>Total</b>	12,950	<b>0.016</b>	<b>207.20</b>
<b>Chocolate (lbs)</b>			
1768	6,435		
1769	1,798		
1770	3,740		
1771	6,716		
1772	9,062		
<b>Total</b>	27,751	<b>0.056</b>	<b>1554.06</b>
<b>Clapboards (n)</b>			
1768	2,000		
1770	4,000		
1771	1,000		
1772	4,200		
<b>Total</b>	11,200	<b>0.00175</b>	<b>19.60</b>

Table 7-7 (continued)

<b>Coals (chal.)</b>			
1769	1		
1770	61.5		
<b>Total</b>	62.5	<b>1.25</b>	<b>78.13</b>
<b>Cocoa (lbs)</b>			
1768	916		
1769	7550		
1770	4,704		
1771	15,700		
1772	5,120		
<b>Total</b>	33,990	<b>0.0249</b>	<b>846.35</b>
<b>Coffee (cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	2 q, 14 lbs		
1769	2 cwt, 3 q		
1770	32 cwt, 2 q, 6 lbs		
1771	42 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	76 cwt	<b>1.97</b>	<b>149.72</b>
<b>Cordage (cwt)</b>	19 cwt		
<b>Cotton (lbs)</b>			
1768	2000		
1769	674		
1770	600		
1771	2,600		
1772	100		
<b>Total</b>	5,974	<b>0.05</b>	<b>298.70</b>
<b>Cyder (bbs)</b>	8		
<b>Fish - Dried (q)</b>			
1768	53		
1769	645		
1770	1,009		
1771	921		

Table 7-7 (continued)

1772	813		
<b>Total</b>	3,441	<b>0.568</b>	<b>1954.49</b>
<b>Fish - Pickled (lbs)</b>			
1768	64		
1769	71		
1770	134.5		
1771	43		
1772	89		
<b>Total</b>	401.50	<b>0.75</b>	<b>301.13</b>
<b>Flax (lbs)</b>			
1770	100		
1771	8,000		
1772	500		
<b>Total</b>	8,600	<b>0.031</b>	<b>266.60</b>
<b>Flaxseed (lbs)</b>			
1768	140		
1769	1,066		
1770	267		
1771	616		
1772	4,600		
<b>Total</b>	6,689	<b>0.112</b>	<b>749.17</b>
<b>Furniture - Chairs</b>			
1768	217		
1769	795		
1770	354		
1771	423		
1772	276		
<b>Total</b>	2,065		
<b>Furniture - Desks</b>			
1768	36		
1769	3		
1770	35		

Table 7-7 (continued)

1771	27		
1772	37		
<b>Total</b>	138		
<b>Furniture - Drawer Cases</b>			
1771	2		
1772	2		
<b>Total</b>	4		
<b>Furniture - Tables</b>			
1768	39		
1769	10		
1770	43		
1771	7		
1772	15		
<b>Total</b>	114		
<b>Hay (t)</b>			
1769	109 t, 4 cwt		
1770	31 t, 10 cwt		
1771	111 t		
1772	10 t		
<b>Total</b>	261 t	<b>2.48/T</b>	<b>647.28</b>
<b>Hoops (n)</b>			
1769	12,000		
1770	22,000		
1771	6,000		
<b>Total</b>	40,000	<b>0.00225</b>	<b>90.00</b>
<b>Hops (lbs)</b>	50		
<b>Horns (n)</b>	1,100		
<b>Indian Corn (bus)</b>			
1768	190		
1769	3,888		

Table 7-7 (continued)

1771	820		
1772	1,885		
<b>Total</b>	6,783	<b>0.0749</b>	<b>508.05</b>
<b>Iron - Bar (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1771	11 cwt		
1772	2 t		
<b>Total</b>	2 t	<b>14.96/T</b>	<b>29.92</b>
<b>Iron - Cast (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	17 cwt, 2 q		
1769	1 t, 8 cwt, 3 q, 16 lbs		
1770	18 cwt		
1772	11 cwt		
1771	5 cwt, 1q, 12 lbs		
<b>Total</b>	4 t	<b>16.5/T</b>	<b>66.00</b>
<b>Leather (lbs)</b>			
1769	2309		
1770	5,550		
1771	13,668		
1772	14,790		
<b>Total</b>	36,317		
<b>Lime (bus)</b>			
1769	1,553		
1770	1,860		
1771	960		
1772	680		
<b>Total</b>	5,053		
<b>Limes (bbs)</b>			
1768	2		
1771	5		
<b>Total</b>	7		
<b>Limes and Oranges (bbs)</b>	15		

Table 7-7 (continued)

<b>Mahogany Logs (t, ft)</b>	1t, 5 ft		
<b>Malt &amp; Meal (bus)</b>			
1768	627		
1769	341		
1770	150		
1772	36		
<b>Total</b>	1,154	<b>0.1</b>	<b>115.40</b>
<b>Molasses (g)</b>			
1768	19,326		
1769	27,092		
1770	48,875		
1771	53,538		
1772	30,017		
<b>Total</b>	178,848	<b>0.049</b>	<b>8763.55</b>
<b>Myrtlewax (lbs)</b>	58		
<b>Oak Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1769	4,600		
1771	4,200		
1772	16,000		
<b>Total</b>	24,800	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>32.24</b>
<b>Oars</b>			
1769	2,350		
1771	5,000		
1772	3,300		
<b>Total</b>	10,650	<b>0.00625</b>	<b>66.56</b>
<b>Oats (bbs)</b>	150	<b>0.05</b>	<b>7.50</b>
<b>Oil - Blubber (bbs)</b>			
1770	49 t, 60 g		
1771	14 bbs		

Table 7-7 (continued)

<b>Total</b>	49 t	<b>15/T</b>	<b>735.00</b>
<b>Oil - Fish</b>			
1768	1 t, 94 g		
1769	18 t, 25 g		
1771	5 t, 221 g		
1772	23 t		
<b>Total</b>	105,620 g	<b>.059/g</b>	<b>6231.58</b>
<b>Onions - bushels</b>			
1770	493		
1771	130		
<b>Total</b>	623	<b>0.004</b>	<b>2.49</b>
<b>Pails (doz)</b>			
1770	4.0		
1771	16.0		
<b>Total</b>	20		
<b>Paper (reams)</b>	82		
<b>Peas (bus)</b>			
1771	40		
1772	10		
<b>Total</b>	50	<b>0.2</b>	<b>10.00</b>
<b>Pimento (lbs)</b>	323	<b>0.024</b>	<b>7.75</b>
<b>Pine Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1768	441,000		
1769	1,286,676		
1770	1,897,300		
1771	1,481,000		
1772	847,000		
<b>Total</b>	5,952,976	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>7738.87</b>
<b>Pitch (bbs)</b>			



Table 7-7 (continued)

1768 - and Tar	124		
1769	19		
1770	4		
1771	4		
1772	61		
<b>Total</b>	212	<b>0.349</b>	<b>73.99</b>
<b>Pork &amp; Beef (t, cwt, q, bbs)</b>			
1768	42 bbs		
1769	14 t, 2 cwt, 2 q		
1770	14 t, 2 cwt, 2 q		
1771	71 bbs		
1772	40 bbs		
<b>Total</b>	436 bbs	<b>2.12/BBS</b>	<b>924.32</b>
<b>Potatoes (bus)</b>			
1768	149		
1769	334		
1770	31		
1771	150		
1772	370		
<b>Total</b>	1,034	<b>0.0375</b>	<b>38.78</b>
<b>Poultry (doz)</b>			
1768	4		
1769	24		
1770	14.5		
1771	10		
<b>Total</b>	52.5	<b>0.45</b>	<b>23.63</b>
<b>Rice (bbs)</b>	2	<b>2.25</b>	<b>4.50</b>
<b>Rum - New England (g)</b>			
1768	15,570		
1769	68,857		
1770	75,552		
1771	84,606		

Table 7-7 (continued)

1772	57,918		
<b>Total</b>	302,503	<b>0.062</b>	<b>18,755.19</b>
<b>Rum - West Indian</b>			
1768	15,570		
1769	28,695		
1770	42,487		
1771	16,632		
1772	34,658		
<b>Total</b>	138,042	<b>0.1</b>	<b>13,804.20</b>
<b>Rye (bus)</b>			
1769	158		
1770	250		
1771	270		
<b>Total</b>	678	<b>0.05</b>	<b>33.90</b>
<b>Salt (bus)</b>			
1768	2,225		
1769	10,809		
1770	6,040		
1771	16,136		
1772	18,465		
<b>Total</b>	53,675	<b>0.051</b>	<b>2,737.43</b>
<b>Sheep (n)</b>			
1768	198		
1769	327		
1770	504		
1771	366		
1772	127		
<b>Total</b>	1,522	<b>0.35</b>	<b>532.70</b>
<b>Shingles (n)</b>			
1768	66,000		
1769	350,700		
1770	351,000		

Table 7-7 (continued)

1771	257,000		
1772	282,000		
<b>Total</b>	1,306,700	<b>0.000397</b>	<b>518.76</b>
<b>Shoes (pairs)</b>			
1768	153		
1769	260		
1770	684		
1771	548		
1772	260		
<b>Total</b>	1,905	<b>0.125</b>	<b>238.13</b>
<b>Shook Hogsheads</b>			
1769	1,250		
1770	1,560		
1771	897		
1772	769		
<b>Total</b>	4,476	<b>0.125</b>	<b>559.50</b>
<b>Snuff (lbs)</b>	125		
<b>Soap - Hard (lbs)</b>	800	<b>0.025</b>	<b>20.00</b>
<b>Spinning Wheels (n)</b>	6		
<b>Starch (cwt)</b>	200		
<b>Staves (n)</b>			
1768	10,500		
1769	49,100		
1770	88,200		
1771	91,200		
1772	161,800		
<b>Total</b>	400,800	<b>0.00299</b>	<b>1,198.39</b>
<b>Stones - Grind (n)</b>	70		

Table 7-7 (continued)

<b>Sugar - Brown (cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	336 cwt, 1 q, 18 lbs		
1769	597 cwt, 2 lbs		
1770	510 cwt, 2 q, 22 lbs		
1771	170 cwt		
1772	188 cwt		
<b>Total</b>	1,801 cwt	<b>1.578</b>	<b>2,841.97</b>
<b>Sugar - Loaf (lbs)</b>			
1769	11,696		
1770	1,610		
1771	2,880		
1772	200		
<b>Total</b>	16,386	<b>0.031</b>	<b>507.97</b>
<b>Tallow &amp; Lard (lbs)</b>	400	<b>0.02</b>	<b>8.00</b>
<b>Tar (bbs)</b>			
1769	254		
1770	57		
1771	275		
1772	9		
<b>Total</b>	595	<b>0.3</b>	<b>178.50</b>
<b>Timber - Oak (t)</b>			
1769	3 t, 30 ft		
1770	97 t		
1771	23 t		
1772	111 t		
<b>Total</b>	234 t	<b>.9/T</b>	<b>210.60</b>
<b>Timber - Pine (t, ft)</b>			
1771	9 t		
1772	92 t		
<b>Total</b>	101 t	<b>.4/T</b>	<b>40.40</b>

Table 7-7 (continued)

<b>Timber - Walnut Boards (ft)</b>			
<b>Tobacco (lbs)</b>			
1770	3,682		
1771	4,432		
1772	1,980		
<b>Total</b>	10,094	<b>0.019</b>	<b>191.79</b>
<b>Trunnels (n)</b>	6000		
<b>Turpentine (bbs)</b>			
1769	56		
1770	12		
1771	10		
1772	70		
<b>Total</b>	148	<b>0.4</b>	<b>59.20</b>
<b>Wheat (bus)</b>			
1770	1,470		
1771	527		
<b>Total</b>	1,997	<b>0.175</b>	<b>349.48</b>
<b>Wine of the Azores (t, g)</b>			
1768	90 g		
1770	60 g		
1772	5 t, 20 g		
<b>Total</b>	5 t	<b>54/T</b>	<b>270.00</b>
<b>Total All Commodities</b>			<b>83,197.65</b>

Source: Inspector General Report, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, England, for commodities.

**Table 7-8 Value of Re-Exported West Indian Commodities in New Hampshire  
Coastal Trade, 1768 – 1772**

<b>Re-Exported West Indian Commodities</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Chocolate (lbs)</b>	1,554.06	
<b>Cocoa (lbs)</b>	846.35	
<b>Coffee (cwt, q, lbs)</b>	149.72	
<b>Cotton (lbs)</b>	298.70	
<b>Molasses (g)</b>	8,763.55	
<b>Pimento (lbs)</b>	7.75	
<b>Rum - New England (g)</b>	18,755.19	
<b>Rum - West Indian (g)</b>	13,804.20	
<b>Salt (bus)</b>	2,737.43	
<b>Sugar - Brown (cwt, q, lbs)</b>	2,841.97	
<b>Sugar - Loaf (lbs)</b>	507.97	
<b>Total - All West Indian Commodities</b>	<b>50,266.89</b>	<b>60%</b>
<b>Total - All Commodities</b>	<b>83,197.65</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Table 7-7.

Table 7-9 New Hampshire Exports to the West Indies, 1768 – 1772

Commodity	Quantity Exported	Price	Value (£)
<b>Apples - Common (bbs)</b>			
1769	3		
1771	2		
<b>Total</b>	5		
<b>Axes (n)</b>			
1768	204		
1770	260		
1771	12		
<b>Total</b>	476		
<b>Beer (lbs.)</b>			
1768	25		
<b>Total</b>	25		
<b>Boats (n)</b>			
1768	32		
1769	35		
1770	27		
1771	40		
1772	70		
<b>Total</b>	204	<b>9L/ea.</b>	<b>1,836.00</b>
<b>Bread &amp; Flour (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1768	123 bbs		
1769	9 t, 5 cwt		
1770	2 t, 13 cwt, 3 q		
1771	4 t		
1772	5 t		
<b>Total</b>	27 t	<b>11/T</b>	<b>297.00</b>
<b>Bricks (n)</b>			
1768	355,000		

Table 7-9 (continued)

1769	353,600		
1770	342,790		
1771	496,000		
1772	496,750		
<b>Total</b>	2,044,140	<b>0.0005</b>	<b>1,022.07</b>
<b>Butter (lbs.)</b>	140	<b>0.02</b>	<b>2.80</b>
<b>Candles - Spermaceti (lbs)</b>			
1768	8,825		
1769	3,975		
1770	13,775		
1771	24,000		
1772	9,350		
<b>Total</b>	59,925	<b>.062/lbs</b>	<b>3,715.35</b>
<b>Candles - Tallow (lbs)</b>			
1768	2,700		
1769	1,080		
1770	500		
1771	540		
1772	1,000		
<b>Total</b>	5,820	<b>0.02</b>	<b>116.40</b>
<b>Cattle</b>			
1768	266		
1769	260		
1770	397		
1771	350		
1772	431		
<b>Total</b>	1,704	<b>4.5L</b>	<b>7,668.00</b>
<b>Cheese (lbs)</b>			
1768	600		
<b>Total</b>	600	<b>0.016</b>	<b>9.60</b>
<b>Clapboards (n)</b>			



Table 7-9 (continued)

1768	20,000		
1769	15,000		
1770	8,000		
1771	11,000		
1772	19,250		
<b>Total</b>	<b>73,250</b>	<b>0.00175</b>	<b>128.19</b>
<b>Fish - Dried (q)</b>			
1768	18,284		
1769	16,228		
1770	15,492		
1771	21,858		
1772	25,441		
<b>Total</b>	<b>97,303</b>	<b>0.568</b>	<b>55,268.10</b>
<b>Fish - Pickled (bbs)</b>			
1768	679.5		
1769	407		
1770	374		
1771	130.25		
1772	290		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,880.75</b>	<b>0.75</b>	<b>1,410.56</b>
<b>Furniture - Chairs</b>			
1769	420		
1770	298		
1771	462		
1772	900		
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,080</b>		
<b>Furniture - Desks</b>			
1769	75		
1770	69		
1771	103		
1772	124		
<b>Total</b>	<b>371</b>		

Table 7-9 (continued)

<b>Furniture - Drawer Cases</b>			
1769	2		
1771	9		
1772	3		
<b>Total</b>	14		
<b>Furniture - Tables</b>			
1769	7		
1770	13		
1771	35		
1772	36		
<b>Total</b>	91		
<b>Hay (t)</b>			
1770	10 cwt		
1772	2 t		
<b>Total</b>	2 t	<b>2.48/T</b>	<b>4.96</b>
<b>Hoops (n)</b>			
1768	341,750		
1769	278,050		
1770	249,000		
1771	325,500		
1772	212,750		
<b>Total</b>	1,407,050	<b>0.00225</b>	<b>3,165.86</b>
<b>Hoop Tress Setts (n)</b>			
1768	74		
1769	57		
1770	76		
1771	96		
1772	81		
<b>Total</b>	384		
<b>Horses</b>			
1768	215		
1769	257		

Table 7-9 (continued)

1770	251		
1771	169		
1772	142		
<b>Total</b>	1,034	<b>14.25L/ea</b>	<b>14,734.50</b>
<b>Houseframes (n)</b>			
1768	7		
1769	12		
1771	12		
1772	25		
<b>Total</b>	56	<b>20L/ea.</b>	<b>1,120.00</b>
<b>Indian Corn (bus)</b>			
1768	160		
1770	40		
1771	160		
<b>Total</b>	360	<b>0.0749</b>	<b>26.96</b>
<b>Iron - Bar (t, cwt, q, lbs)</b>			
1770	2 t, 1 cwt, 1 q		
<b>Total</b>	2 t, 1 cwt, 1 q	<b>14.96/T</b>	<b>29.92</b>
<b>Leather (lbs)</b>			
1770	2,300		
1772	240		
<b>Total</b>	2,540		
<b>Lime (bus)</b>			
1768	6		
1769	436		
1770	1,000		
<b>Total</b>	1,442		
<b>Masts</b>			
1768	9		
1771	17		
<b>Total</b>	26		

Table 7-9 (continued)

<b>Oak Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1768	3,000		
1769	101,000		
1770	14,000		
1771	7,000		
1772	7,000		
<b>Total</b>	132,000	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>171.60</b>
<b>Oars</b>			
1768	2,445		
1769	8,500		
1770	16,730		
1771	27,525		
1772	21,960		
<b>Total</b>	77,160	<b>0.00625</b>	<b>482.25</b>
<b>Oil - Blubber (bbs)</b>			
1769	40 t, 69.5		
1770	22 t, 21 g		
1772	23 t		
<b>Total</b>	85 t	<b>15/T</b>	<b>1275.00</b>
<b>Oil - Fish</b>			
1768	30 t,		
1771	36 t, 63 g		
<b>Total</b>	147,903	<b>.059/g</b>	<b>8726.27</b>
<b>Onions - bushels</b>			
1768	30		
1769	24		
1770	35		
<b>Total</b>	89	<b>0.004</b>	<b>0.36</b>
<b>Onions - bunches</b>			
1768	580		
<b>Total</b>	580	<b>0.004</b>	<b>2.32</b>

Table 7-9 (continued)

<b>Peas (bus)</b>			
1769	37		
1770	14		
1771	70		
<b>Total</b>	121	<b>0.2</b>	<b>24.20</b>
<b>Pine Board &amp; Plank (ft)</b>			
1768	11,166,500		
1769	12,312,032		
1770	12,437,100		
1771	13,197,360		
1772	13,277,100		
<b>Total</b>	62,390,092	<b>0.0013</b>	<b>81107.12</b>
<b>Pitch (bbs)</b>			
1768	5		
1769	7		
1770	7		
<b>Total</b>	19	<b>0.349</b>	<b>6.63</b>
<b>Pork &amp; Beef (t, cwt, q, bbs)</b>			
1768	438 bbs		
1769	44 t, 2 cwt		
1770	47 t, 1 cwt		
1771	122 bbs		
1772	100 bbs		
<b>Total</b>	1,583	<b>2.12/BBS</b>	<b>3356.00</b>
<b>Potatoes (bus)</b>			
1768	299		
1769	130		
1770	150		
1771	60		
1772	365		
<b>Total</b>	1,004	<b>0.0375</b>	<b>37.65</b>

Table 7-9 (continued)

<b>Poultry (doz)</b>			
1768	10		
1769	20		
1770	38		
1771	41		
1772	46		
<b>Total</b>	155	<b>0.45</b>	<b>69.75</b>
<b>Rum - New England (g)</b>			
1768	450		
<b>Total</b>	450	<b>0.062</b>	<b>27.90</b>
<b>Salt (bus)</b>			
1769	300		
<b>Total</b>	300	<b>0.051</b>	<b>15.30</b>
<b>Sheep (n)</b>			
1768	1093		
1769	997		
1770	1,827		
1771	1359		
1772	997		
<b>Total</b>	6,273	<b>0.35</b>	<b>2195.55</b>
<b>Shingles (n)</b>			
1768	6,447,000		
1769	5,810,100		
1770	6,300,000		
1771	6,092,000		
1772	6,914,000		
<b>Total</b>	31,563,100	<b>0.000397</b>	<b>12530.55</b>
<b>Shoes (pairs)</b>			
1769	72		
1772	80		
<b>Total</b>	152	<b>0.125</b>	<b>19.00</b>

Table 7-9 (continued)

<b>Shook Hogsheads</b>			
1768	11,088		
1769	13,142		
1770	9,837		
1771	10,440		
1772	9,271		
<b>Total</b>	53,778	<b>0.125</b>	<b>6722.25</b>
<b>Soap - Hard (lbs)</b>	850	<b>0.025</b>	<b>21.25</b>
<b>Spars (n)</b>			
1769	462		
1770	88		
1771	524		
1772	722		
<b>Total</b>	1,796		
<b>Staves (n)</b>			
1768	918,000		
1769	813,800		
1770	946,250		
1771	1,082,750		
1772	971,250		
<b>Total</b>	4,732,050	<b>0.00299</b>	<b>14148.83</b>
<b>Tallow &amp; Lard (lbs)</b>			
1768	500		
1769	2,450		
1770	3,100		
1772	200		
<b>Total</b>	6,250	<b>0.02</b>	<b>125.00</b>
<b>Tar (bbs)</b>			
1768	38		
1769	14		
1770	5		
1771	12		

**Table 7-9 (continued)**

1772	19		
<b>Total</b>	88	<b>0.3</b>	<b>26.40</b>
<b>Timber - Oak (t)</b>			
1771	4 t, 16 ft		
1772	110 t		
<b>Total</b>	114 t	<b>.9/T</b>	<b>102.60</b>
<b>Timber - Pine (t, ft)</b>			
1768	25 t		
1772	121 t		
<b>Total</b>	146 t	<b>.4/T</b>	<b>58.40</b>
<b>Turpentine (bbs)</b>			
1768	10		
1769	16		
1770	3		
<b>Total</b>	29	<b>0.4</b>	<b>11.60</b>
<b>Total All Commodities</b>			<b>221,820.06</b>

**Source:** Inspector General Report, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, England.



**Table 7-10 West Indian Imports into New Hampshire – 1768-1772: Commodities and Values**

<b>Coffee (cwt.)</b>				<b>Salt (Bu.)</b>		
<b>Year</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>		<b>Year</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>
1768	195.4	792		1768	37344	1763
1769	138.17	580		1769	117272	5998
1770	76.97	360		1770	50184	2868
1771	185.3	696		1771	88244	4262
1772	176.2	716		1772	64648	3711
<b>Total</b>	772.04	3144		<b>Total</b>	357692	18602
<b>Cotton (lb.)</b>				<b>Wine (t)</b>		
<b>Year</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>		<b>Year</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>
1768	60,365	2,946		1768	0.48	28
1769	100,795	4,475		<b>Total</b>	0.48	28
1770	69,968	3,058				
1771	93,360	3,963				
1772	49,590	2,274				
<b>Total</b>	374,078	16,716				
<b>Molasses (gal)</b>				<b>Cocoa(lbs)</b>		
<b>Year</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>		<b>Year</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>
1768	260,266	12,727		1768	20750	1677
1769	389,976	20,103		1769	18295	1328
1770	370,141	19,081		1770	33786	2452
1771	418,060	21,258		1771	56850	4126
1772	531,321	26,035		1772	69950	5077
<b>Total</b>	1,969,764	99,204		<b>Total</b>	199631	14,660
<b>Rum (gal)</b>				<b>Slaves (#)</b>		
<b>Year</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>		<b>Year</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>
1768	127,283	12,779		1768	12	360
1769	122,310	12,708		1772	4	120
1770	190,147	18,587		<b>Total</b>	16	480
1771	81,125	8,206				
1772	165,875	17,699				
<b>Total</b>	686,740	69,979				

**Table 7-10 (continued)**

<b>Sugar (cwt.)</b>						
<b>Year</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>				
1768	1,114.55	1,640				
1769	2,369	3,809				
1770	2,285.64	4,144				
1771	1,163.33	1,810				
1772	2,450.51	3,727				
<b>Total</b>	<b>9,383.03</b>	<b>15,130</b>				

**Sources:** Inspector General Report, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, England; James F. Shepherd, *Commodity Imports Into the British North American Colonies From Southern Europe and the West Indies, 1768-1772*, Institute for Research in the Behavioral, Economic and Management Sciences, Paper No. 270 – February 1970, (Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana); Appendix - Rhode Island Prices.

**Table Abbreviations:**

- cwt – hundredweight, 112lbs
- bu – bushels
- lbs – pounds
- gal – gallons
- # - number

**Table 7-11 Value of New Hampshire Exports to All Regions, 1768 – 1772**

<b>Export Area</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
Coastal	83,197	25.8%
Great Britain & Ireland	12,900	4%
Southern Europe & Wine Islands	1,657	>1%
Africa	2,848	>1%
West Indies	221,820	68.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>322,422</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Export Area</b>	<b>Value (£)</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
Coastal - Without West Indian Products	32,930	10.2%
Coastal - West Indian Products	50,267	15.5%
Great Britain & Ireland	12,900	4%
Southern Europe & Wine Islands	1,657	>1%
Africa	2,848	>1%
West Indies	221,820	68.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>322,422</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

## 8.0 FORGETTING THE “LINKS IN A VAST CHAIN”: NEW ENGLAND, SLAVERY, RACE AND THE WEST INDIES

The great origin myth of New England starts with a ship, the *Mayflower*. Huddled aboard her wooden frame the brave “Pilgrims” headed across the Atlantic in 1620 searching for a religious refuge and forging a “compact” which established the underlying political principles for what would become “democracy” in America.<sup>98</sup> The reality was less than half of the one hundred and three passengers on the *Mayflower* were officially seeking religious liberty in that maiden voyage, which is one reason why both the ship and the document were largely ignored until the nineteenth century when the latter was re-named the “Mayflower Compact” to serve the ideological ends of New Englanders.<sup>99</sup> Moreover, the Plymouth colony established by the

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<sup>98</sup> Joseph A. Conforti, *Imaging New England, Explorations of Regional Identity from the Pilgrims to the Mid-Twentieth Century*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 171-172. This myth-making process was underway quite early. John Adams, for example, created a historical narrative in which the colonists forged “solemn and sacred Compacts” that had guided them as “a Wilderness had been subdued and cultivated.” Entry dated April 3, 1778, *The Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, Volume 4, ed. L.H. Butterfield (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), 271. Adams not only omitted the Indians, he also left out where much of that “wilderness” went, as previous chapters illustrated: to sustain the West Indian plantation complex.

<sup>99</sup> Conforti, *Imaging New England*, 172-173; James Deetz and Patricia Scott Deetz, *The Times of Their Lives, Life, Love, and Death in Plymouth Colony*, (New York: W.H. Freeman and Company, 2000), 10. The Deetz admirably trace the evolution of the Pilgrim myths in their first chapter, noting that “the Mayflower Compact has been endowed with an importance that far transcends reality.” See page 19. Nathaniel Philbrick, *Mayflower: A Story of Courage, Community and War* (New York: Viking, 2006), passim, but especially 352-355, also chronicles the evolving mythology.

Pilgrims was a failure by almost any measure, especially economic, and was absorbed into the Massachusetts colony in 1691.<sup>100</sup>

A rather different story of New England - which perhaps captures history more completely - involves another ship: the *Desire*. Built in 1636 in the newly established port town of Marblehead, Massachusetts, the 120-ton vessel left in July 1637 with a human cargo for sale.<sup>101</sup> Fifteen young Pequot Indian boys and two women, who had survived the New Englanders' genocidal war against their nation, found themselves onboard and headed to sea.<sup>102</sup> Originally bound for Bermuda Captain William Peirce had sailed to Providence Island in the West Indies where another group of Puritans had settled in 1630.<sup>103</sup> Seven months later Massachusetts Governor John Winthrop tersely noted in his journal that Captain Peirce returned and "brought some cotton, and tobacco, and negroes."<sup>104</sup> Indians had been exchanged for Africans, who were then the first imported into the region. The *Desire* was thus a slave-ship. As such it provides a very different framework for understanding New England's history, to which trade and West Indian slavery would be central. This chapter emphasizes the *Desire* contract

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<sup>100</sup> Virginia DeJohn Anderson, "New England in the Seventeenth Century," in Nicholas Canny, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 197. As Anderson succinctly puts it, "Plymouth's historical reputation exceeds its contemporary importance."

<sup>101</sup> *Winthrop's Journal*, Volume I, 1630-1649, ed. James Kendall Hosmer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 187. John Winthrop to William Bradford, July, 1637, in *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume III, 1631-1637, ed. Allyn Bailey Forbes, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1943), 455-458. Winthrop did not specify the port from which the *Desire* sailed from in New England.

<sup>102</sup> *Winthrop's Journal*, Volume I, 1630-1649, ed. James Kendall Hosmer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 228-229. For overviews of the Pequot War, see Alden T. Vaughan, "Pequots and Puritans: The Causes of the War of 1637," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 2, (April 1964), 256-269; Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and Cant of Conquest*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1975); Alfred A. Cave, *The Pequot War* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996); and Ronald Dale Karr, " 'Why Should You Be So Furious?' : The Violence of the Pequot War," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 85, No. 3, (December 1998), 876-909.

<sup>103</sup> For a succinct biographical sketch on Captain William Peirce, see Daniel Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea, Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 21, and for some background on the Bermuda Colony and the demand for laborers there, see Virginia Bernhard, "Beyond the Chesapeake: The Contrasting Status of Blacks in Bermuda, 1616-1663," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 54, No. 4, (November 1988), 545-564.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*, 260, for Winthrop's account, and Karen Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630-1641* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993) for an overview of this failed Puritan West Indian colony.

over the “Mayflower Compact” as an epitome of New England’s history. This requires that we explore the historical, ideological, and historiographical ways in which the deep, structural economic links between New England and the West Indies chronicled in the previous chapters, have remained largely unexplored.

This chapter’s investigation of the growth of the myth of New England – and the suppression of the connection to West Indian slavery – builds on the work of three scholars. The first is Richard Slotkin, who has provided an important reminder that “a people unaware of its myths is likely to continue living by them.”<sup>105</sup> The myth of colonial New England exemplifies what Slotkin described as “the narrative action of the myth-tale” which “recapitulates that people’s experience in their land, [and] rehearses their visions of that experience.”<sup>106</sup> To understand this myth, especially how, when and why it developed, as Slotkin suggests, requires that we “begin by examining the state of mind that transforms experience, perception, and narration into the materials of a myth.”<sup>107</sup> In essence, “people’s vision,” and their actual “experience,” are transformed into a “paradigm.”<sup>108</sup> In the case of colonial New Englanders, much of that history was consciously produced by religious men. They focused on religious questions and much of the subsequent scholarship on colonial New England has followed them.<sup>109</sup> This documentary bias made religious issues paramount in the history of New England. Other, more materialist concerns mattered little, if at all. Thus, we must understand what led to the voyage of the *Desire* and how the impact of the plantation complex in the West Indies on New England’s economy was largely denied in subsequent histories. In doing so we seek to

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<sup>105</sup> Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), 4-5.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>109</sup> This topic is explored in detail later in the chapter.

make a significant contribution to a dissenting tradition of historiography which has assailed the myth of New England from other related, though distinct, directions.

Slotkin provides a very useful framework to re-examine New Englanders' historical identity, one they created in stark racial terms as the story of "civilization" over "savagery." This chapter expands Slotkin's vision based on white New Englanders' confrontation with Indians to a broader examination of racial ideologies New Englanders brought with them concerning a variety of "others." This necessitates moving not only East to West, as Slotkin does, but West to East, to a wider Atlantic perspective, then flowing in nearly all directions tracing how the West Indian connection impacted New Englanders' decision to legalize slavery and accept African slaves. Only through such an analysis will the voyage of the *Desire* make sense. I affirm many of Slotkin's conclusions about the importance of myths, as I expand the scope of their historical sources.

Similarly, Joseph Conforti's analysis of New Englanders self-identity provides another set of useful examples of how the region has been "imagined" and re-created to suit larger ideological purposes.<sup>110</sup> As with Slotkin, my aim is to build and extend Conforti's interpretation by adding the West Indian dimension, which is absent from his own work. This provides a new and complementary analysis that argues New Englanders' sense of themselves was forged as much by denial of their direct participation in the Atlantic slave economy as by the affirmation of "civilization" over "savagery."

Finally, Joanne Pope Melish has provided another element of the myth neglected by both Slotkin and Conforti: how New Englanders created "a narrative of a historically free, white New

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<sup>110</sup> Conforti, *Imaging New England, Explorations of Regional Identity from the Pilgrims to the Mid-Twentieth Century*, passim.

England,” which served as “the antithesis of an enslaved South.”<sup>111</sup> Melish argues that this narrative “displaced a more complex reality in which economic, political, and social relations were structured by ‘race,’ itself emerging from a still earlier set of relations structured by slavery.”<sup>112</sup> Melish traces how, from the post-Revolutionary era through to the 1850s, New Englanders crafted a vision of their own history structured around “a triumphant narrative of free, white labor, a region within which free people of color could be represented as permanent strangers whose presence was unaccountable and whose claims to citizenship were absurd.”<sup>113</sup> One essential element in this process “was a kind of erasure by whites of the historical experience of local enslavement.”<sup>114</sup> Building on Melish’s analysis, this chapter explores the Atlantic dimensions of this process by which New Englanders envisioned themselves and why they had to “write out (white out)” not just their own involvement with slavery at home, as Melish cogently details, in terra firma New England, but also their strategic position in sustaining the West Indian plantation complex.

To date there has been only one sustained exploration regarding linkages between New England and the West Indies, an important yet overlooked article from nearly a half-century ago by Winthrop Jordan.<sup>115</sup> As his title suggested, Jordan was interested in “The Influence of the West Indies on the Origins of New England Slavery,” and he began by claiming that “there was no economic need” for African slaves.<sup>116</sup> Perhaps not, but New Englanders kept some two hundred and eighty Pequot women and children as slaves following the war, thereby raising the

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<sup>111</sup> Melish *Disowning Slavery*, preface, xiv-xv.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, xv.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>115</sup> Winthrop Jordan, “The Influence of the West Indies on the Origins of New England Slavery,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, Volume 18, Issue 2 (April 1961), 243-250. His essay might have been more accurately titled “origins of African slavery,” since he does not really consider Indian slaves in the region. See his footnote 15, page 247.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 243-244. As we’ll see shortly, many New Englanders at the time disagreed and described the region as one in which unfree laborers were few and in demand.



servant population by 18% at a time when complaints about the lack of available servants were everywhere.<sup>117</sup> Next he asserted that despite “New Englanders’ perception of the Negro as a social being...different in color, language, religion, and degree of civilization,” this “hardly explains...the origination of the specific idea” of enslaving Africans.<sup>118</sup> Instead, Jordan speculated “the idea was borrowed from the English colonies in the West Indies.”<sup>119</sup> Summarizing briefly New England trade to Barbados, Providence Island, and Africa, Jordan concluded that importing Africans “must have brought with it the prevailing ideas concerning their appropriate status.”<sup>120</sup> He suggested that the approximately 1,200 white settlers from Barbados who migrated to New England between 1643 and 1647 “undoubtedly [brought] their opinions about the suitable status of black persons.”<sup>121</sup> Perhaps, but this occurred after the adoption of the *Body of Liberties* in 1641, which legalized slavery in Massachusetts, and well after Indians had been exchanged for Africans through the voyage of the *Desire*. Thus, the historical origins of the commodification process, visibly apparent as several hundred Pequots were made slaves and sold throughout New England while others were loaded onboard the *Desire* and transported to Providence Island, remained unexplored.<sup>122</sup>

This process began long before Winthrop’s brief notation regarding “some cotton, and tobacco, and negroes.”<sup>123</sup> He had no doubt that Africans/African-Americans were commodities.

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<sup>117</sup> Michael L. Fickes, “ ‘They Could Not Endure That Yoke’: The Captivity of Pequot Women and Children after the War of 1637,” *The New England Quarterly* (March 2000), 61-66.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 243-244.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 246. Unlike the article, Jordan’s famous monograph, *White Over Black, American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1977, reprint 1968), 3-43, investigated the racial attitudes English settlers brought with them toward Africans before they established colonies, rather than just ones dictated by new circumstances in the Americas.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 247.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 247.

<sup>122</sup> As noted above, Jordan explored these perceptions later in *White Over Black*, and he included a brief discussion of New England and slavery (66-71) which included the points raised in the article without any substantive changes.

<sup>123</sup> *Winthrop’s Journal*, Volume I, 1630-1649, ed. James Kendall Hosmer (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1908), 260.

Yet, men like Winthrop reserved additional space in this mental category for another group of people: as the *Desire*'s voyage makes clear, Indians were also commodified.<sup>124</sup> How did this process of commodification originate and progress such that the enslavement and exchange of two different groups of people was understood and recorded not as something extraordinary, but something rather ordinary?

Neither the voyage of the *Desire* nor Winthrop's ease at commodifying humans can be understood apart from a broad history of race and slavery in seventeenth-century New England, grounded in an Atlantic approach emphasizing the ideas, perceptions and experiences of the English with multiple "Others," including the Irish, North African and Turkish Muslims, and sub-Saharan Africans, before reaching the shores of New England and encountering Native Americans.<sup>125</sup> Racial constructions of these groups ranged from ambivalence to hatred and constituted a basis of the complex racial ideologies New Englanders brought with them across

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<sup>124</sup> This was not an isolated incident, but rather a trend-setting one, as New Englanders repeated this process in the wake of Metacom's War in 1675-1676: enslaving some Indians within the region and selling others in the West Indies. This included Indians who had surrendered voluntarily, as Benjamin Church, an active participant in the war related, "they were carried away to Plymouth, there sold, and transported out of the country, being about eight score persons." See Thomas Church, *The History of Philip's War*, ed. Samuel Drake (Exeter: J.B. Williams, 1843), 51-52. Church took "regular" Indian prisoners to Plymouth for sale as well, and "disposed of them all." Ibid, 94-95. For overviews of the war, and New Englanders policy of enslavement, see Samuel Drake, *The History of King Philip's War* (Boston: Howe & Norton, 1825), 39; Almon Wheeler Lauber, *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times Within the Present Limits of the United States* (New York: Columbia University, 1913), 125-131; Douglas Edward Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk, New England in King Phillip's War* (Hyannis, Massachusetts: Parnassus Imprints, Inc., 1958, 1995), 224-228; Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence*, 162-163; Jennings, *The Invasion of America*, 298-335. General overviews of the war include Russell Bourne, *The Red King's Rebellion, Racial Politics in New England, 1675-1678*, (New York: Antheneum, 1990), 298-335; Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998); Eric B. Schultz, Michael J. Tougas, *King Philip's War: the History and Legacy of America's Forgotten Conflict* (Woodstock, Vermont: Countryman Press, 1999), James David Drake, *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675-1676* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999).

<sup>125</sup> In a sense I am following a strategy employed by Edmund Morgan in his study of the development of slavery in colonial Virginia. He suggested that to understand the transition from White, English, indentured servants to Black, African slaves requires discovering "the consciousness of those" who ran the plantation system. Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1975), 316. In the case of New England, despite the absence of large-scale plantations at this time, I have pursued a similar line of inquiry: by understanding the "consciousness" of men like Winthrop, and then later, men like Jeremy Belknap, we can learn how slavery was embraced, the historical factors that made this possible, which are directly connected to the West Indies, and then the denial of this history later in the fashioning in the "myth of New England."

the Atlantic.<sup>126</sup> These served to justify enslavement of both Indians and Africans during the first few decades of settlement when labor shortages and the absence of export markets threatened the very survival of English settlement in the region. The West Indies served two basic purposes: as a source of African slave labor and a market for New England exports. However, colonists had earlier experiences with a region and a people much closer to England, and one which provided an essential intellectual foundation in the development of racial ideology in the minds of men like Winthrop.

English colonization efforts began not in New England, but in Old England, where plans for the reassertion of control over Ireland were accompanied by a racial ideology stressing the savagery and barbarism of the Irish people. As Rediker and Linebaugh observed, this was the precedent which “laid the foundation and established the model for all conquests to follow.”<sup>127</sup> The campaign in 1565 was typical in its brutality as whole Irish families were “driven from the plains into the woods where they would freeze or famish with the onset of winter.”<sup>128</sup> Lieutenant Edward Barkley led one such campaign, approving “how godly a deed it is to overthrowe so wicked a race the world may judge: for my part I think there cannot be a greater sacrifice to

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<sup>126</sup> While my focus is on the racial dimensions, they also brought a class ideology justified in religious terms as well, exemplified by Winthrop’s now “famous” sermon given onboard the *Arbella* in 1630: “A Modell of Christian Charity,” which begins by stating that “God Almighty in his most holy and wise providence, hath soe disposed of the condition of mankind, as in all times some must be rich, some poore, some high and eminent in power and dignitie; others mean and in submission.” John Winthrop, “A Modell of Christian Charity,” in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Volume VII, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, (Boston 1838), 33-48, the opening quoted is on page 33. Winthrop Jordan mentions the religious dimensions, though not as I have, in *White Over Black*, 20-24, as has George M. Fredrickson, more recently, in his *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 17-47. Besides the secondary sources already cited, and those to follow throughout the chapter, my own interpretation regarding the historical evolution of racial ideologies draws from Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery, From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (New York: Verso, 1998), 33-93.

<sup>127</sup> Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), 57. As the authors make clear, there was a heavy class dimension to the colonization project as well.

<sup>128</sup> Nicholas Canny, “The Ideology of English Colonization: from Ireland to America,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, Volume 30, No. 4 (October, 1973), 581.

God.”<sup>129</sup> Barkley conceptualized the Irish as a separate race and this status alleviated any need for mercy or even the recognition of humanity.

Racialization and terror spread together throughout the Irish countryside. Sir Henry Gilbert beheaded resisters, bringing “great terror to the people when they saw the heads of their dead fathers, brothers, children, kinsfolk and friends, lie on the ground before their faces, as they came to speak” with him.<sup>130</sup> The English categorized the Irish as a group of “pagans,” a people who practiced “cannibalism” and lived “like beasts,” were “brutish in customs,” and overall, “uncivil Barbarians.”<sup>131</sup> Thus, the English created the racialized construction of the “wild Irish,” a group not far away across the Atlantic in the New World of the Americas, but one much closer which “provided the Englishman with his stereotype of primitive and barbarous society.”<sup>132</sup> The English justified their efforts as a Godly campaign to bring civilization to Ireland, a claim that

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid, 581.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid, 582. As Canny’s article makes clear, this was a widespread English attitude. Canny has detailed these sentiments in other studies as well including: “The permissive frontier: social control in English settlements in Ireland and Virginia, 1550-1650,” in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480-1650*, ed., K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 17-44; *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1565-1576* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1976), 160. There is a large literature on this topic but for representative samples see Jane H. Ohlmeyer, “‘Civilizing of those Rude Parts’: Colonization within Britain and Ireland, 1580s-1640s,” in Nicholas Canny, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998), 124-147, and Jean Feerick, “Spenser, Race and Ireland,” *English Literary Renaissance*, Volume 32, Issue 1 (December 2002), 85-117.

<sup>131</sup> Canny, “The Ideology of English Colonization: from Ireland to America,” 585-588, and passim, along with Ohlmeyer, “‘Civilizing of those Rude Parts’: Colonization within Britain and Ireland, 1580s-1640s,” 131-143.

<sup>132</sup> James Muldoon, “The Indian as Irishman,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (Volume 111, 1975), 269. New Englanders continued to compare the Indians and the Irish throughout the seventeenth century, particularly in reference to having to deal with “Barbarians.” During King Phillip’s War in 1675, Samuel Gorton of Warwick, Rhode Island wrote to Connecticut Governor John Winthrop Jr. saying “I remember the time of the warres in Ireland (when I was young, in Queen Elizabeths days of famous memory) when much English blood was spilt by a people much like unto these [Indians].” Gorton to Winthrop, September 11, 1675, in *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 4<sup>th</sup> Series, VII (Boston: 1865), 627-631. Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America*, also makes a strong argument for understanding how New Englanders used the Irish precedent in dealing with Indians. He draws on Canny, “The Ideology of English Colonization: from Ireland to America,” among others. See Jennings pages 3-84, and 327-334, especially page 334, where he states the “link was Ireland,” and “Elizabethan conquerors terrorized the Irish ‘savages’ ...and the methods and propaganda were transplanted to America.”

would be echoed by John Winthrop who sought to colonize New England and to Christianize to the Native Americans.<sup>133</sup>

Some of the early settlers of New England, including the Winthrop family, had direct experience in Ireland. Even after settling in New England, John Winthrop Sr. considered relocating to Ireland, preferring perhaps more familiar “barbarians” closer to home.<sup>134</sup> In 1596, he sought economic opportunities and relocated to the Munster Plantation in Ireland, though the Tyrone Rebellion forced him back to England until 1602. Thereafter he shuttled back and forth between England and Ireland for several years.<sup>135</sup> His son, John Winthrop Jr., future Governor of the Colony of Connecticut, attended Trinity College for two years (1622-1624) in Dublin. Although studying in Ireland satisfied his father, John Winthrop Jr. had an “inclination to the Sea.”<sup>136</sup> His interests, however, were not to the West but to the East, specifically Turkey, where English interests were well represented by the Levant Company.<sup>137</sup>

English attitudes towards the Turks were complicated and ambiguous. While some in England considered the Turks “the scourge of the East and the Terror of the West,” and emphasized “the Bloody and Cruell Turke,” others, like John Winthrop Jr. were traveling,

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<sup>133</sup> For the Irish, see Canny, “The Ideology of English Colonization: from Ireland to America,” 588. For Winthrop, see his extensive notes regarding the reasons for immigrating to New England in *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume 2, ed. Stewart Mitchell (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1931), 114-116.

<sup>134</sup> Muldon, “The Indian as Irishman,” 279. Emmanuel Downing, Winthrop’s brother in law, had also direct experience in Ireland.

<sup>135</sup> Francis J. Bremer, *John Winthrop: America’s Forgotten Founding Father*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 98-100.

<sup>136</sup> Joshua Downing to John Winthrop, April 24, 1627, in *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume 1, ed. Worthington C. Ford, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929), 347-348.

<sup>137</sup> Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1935). Although English goods, and sometimes English ships, traded with Turkish interests in the early sixteenth century, only in 1581 did a group of merchants form a joint-stock company – The Levant Company – to directly trade in the area. John Winthrop Jr. actually sailed aboard a Levant Company vessel in 1628 in the Mediterranean: the *London*. See Bremer, *John Winthrop*, 128-9.

trading and working in Turkey.<sup>138</sup> In fact, Elizabeth I saw both economic and strategic advantages in forging a strong relationship with Turkey.<sup>139</sup> Despite the successful mercantile and diplomatic relationships, throughout the Mediterranean, ships from various Islamic nations - conflated by the English as Turkish Man-of-War or Barbary Pirates - prowled the seas sacking ships and enslaving sailors.<sup>140</sup> Europeans, including the English, constantly sought repatriation for their fellows under Islamic slavery. While in Constantinople, Winthrop Jr. wrote his father in Massachusetts concerning Sir Chillam Digby's expedition to Algiers where he "redeemed some 20 or 30 Christian slaves."<sup>141</sup> However, the enslavement process ran both ways. A French commander, the Duke de Guise, was preparing "to come to sea" from Marseilles with a large fleet, "4 galleons and 12 sails of gallies," having already captured "some 200 Turkes" and placed them on his galley ships.<sup>142</sup>

John Winthrop Jr.'s experience of traveling and working in an area filled with Europeans and Muslims enslaving each other was hardly unique. Thousands of sailors from Europe were enslaved from Rabat to Constantinople. Those fortunate enough to escape this fate, like the clerks, merchants and diplomats connected with the Levant Company, or even independent traders, still lived in societies where the buying and selling of people like themselves was an everyday occurrence. The English boarding ships for America, like those in Winthrop's father's

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<sup>138</sup> C.A. Patrides, "'The Bloody and Cruell Turke': the Background of a Renaissance Commonplace" *Studies in Renaissance* (Volume 10 1963), 126-131.

<sup>139</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, 6-36.

<sup>140</sup> Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), passim. Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, 62-63, notes that some European sailors, including Englishmen, "turned Turk" and joined the "pirates." For a comprehensive overview, see Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), especially pages 43-82.

<sup>141</sup> John Winthrop Jr., to John Winthrop, July 14, 1628, *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume 1, ed. Worthington C. Ford, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929), 402-403.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid, 402-403. For French use of galley slaves, and their particular fondness for using Muslim "Turks," to man them, see Paul Walden Bamford, "The Procurement of Oarsmen for French Galleys, 1660-1748," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 65, No. 1, (October 1959), 31-48.

fleet sailing to New England, had ample reason to fear the “cruel and bloody turk” for Muslim “pirates” had captured ships off the coast in Ireland, near the English Channel, and everywhere in between.<sup>143</sup>

Overall, English attitudes towards Muslims were filled with tension and ambiguity. While some studies indicate the presence of an ideological hatred of Muslims, others suggest a more positive attitude.<sup>144</sup> Firsthand English accounts often mention the “tawny” skin color of Muslims yet no direct association was made with this and some “primitive” or “uncivilized” state.<sup>145</sup> The ‘barbaric’ treatment English slaves described were attributed to Islam, “*Mahumedan unbelief*” which was filled with “abominations,” but contempt for the religion was tempered with admiration for Islamic achievements. As one captive, William Okeley, noted regarding Algiers, “The City is comfortably large, the walls beautified. The City is Built very

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<sup>143</sup> See Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, passim. I put pirates in quotes because these ships often acted with the sanction of Constantinople. Further complicating matters, English descriptions of the actions of ships often misidentified those from the quasi-independent Moroccan ports of Sale and Rabat with others operating from Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers. Ships from all these locations were labeled the Barbary Pirates or Turkish Man-o-Wars, even though their point of origin was likely not Turkey. Nevertheless, Muslim pirates identified as Turks were certainly on the minds of men like John Winthrop, who noted that a group of (presumably) Puritan settlers who had left England heading to Providence Island in 1640 “were taken prisoners by the Turks” yet “their lives (were) saved” since a “ransom” was paid. In another instance Winthrop noted that “Mr. Carman, master of a ship from New Haven who had left in December, 1642 for the Canary Islands...laden with clapboards,” fought off a “Turkish pirate” for three hours before successfully escaping. See *Winthrop’s Journal*, Volume II, 35, and 126-127. Concerns persisted through the seventeenth century and in 1680 Massachusetts Governor Bradstreet reported that one of the main “obstructions to trade” from the colony was “the Algiers men-of-war infesting the seas.” See “Governor Bradstreet to the Committee of Trade and Plantations, May 18, 1680,” in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1574-1739 CD-ROM*, consultant editors Karen Ordahl Kupperman, John C. Appleby and Mandy Banton, (London: Routledge, published in association with the Public Record Office, copyright 2000). Hereafter abbreviated as *CSPCD*.

<sup>144</sup> For an interpretation which stresses the negative, see Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West, the Making of an Image* (Boston: One World, 2000): 302-326, and, for a more positive view, see Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

<sup>145</sup> For example, in 1604, well before his more famous trip to Virginia and association with Pocahontas, Captain John Smith traveled across North Africa and visited “Morocco, in Barbarie.” In Morocco, Smith met “King Mully Hamet, (who) was not black, as many suppose, but Molata, or tawnie, as are the most of his subjects; everie way noble, kinde and friendly, verie rich and pompous in State and Majetie...whose Religion of Mahomet...an incredible miserable curiositie they observe.” Captain John Smith, *Travels and Works*, edited by Edward Arber (New York: B. Franklin, 1967, reprint of Edinburgh 1910), 871.

Stately. I must confess, it's one of the best built that I have seen."<sup>146</sup> He even appreciated the architectural beauty of their mosques, "Their Temples are also very Magnificent," before quickly adding, "and much too good for their Religion."<sup>147</sup> This account, like many others, contained intellectual contradictions regarding English attitudes towards Islam and was marked by fear, contradiction, and surprise.<sup>148</sup>

The English did not express a clear and consistent racial ideology towards Muslims. Although pre-disposed toward labeling anyone non-English and non-Christian as 'barbaric' (or, depending upon who was on the throne, non-Catholic or non-Protestant), Muslims were not considered a separate "race," as were the Irish, but they certainly were not equals. Due to their formidable military and economic strength, in connection with the presence of a system of laws and governance, the Islamic powers could not be easily dismissed as completely uncivilized - though certainly many religious individuals in England tried to do just that.<sup>149</sup>

In contrast to their ambivalence toward Muslims, the English would construct a racial ideology towards sub-Saharan Africans as vitriolic as their conception of the Irish. Beginning in the mid-sixteenth century English ships began trading along the West African coast, including several slave raiding voyages by John Hawkins.<sup>150</sup> By the end of the century "there was a

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<sup>146</sup> William Okeley, *EBEN-EZER: OR A SMALL MONUMENT OF GREAT MERCY, APPEARING IN THE Miraculous Deliverance of William Okeley, John Anthony, William Adams, John Jephys, John - Carpenter* (London, 1675), 7-8.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid, 7-8.

<sup>148</sup> Captivity narratives like Okeley's must be weighed against Captain John Smith's and, more importantly, the experiences of the Levant Company merchants and English ambassadors to Constantinople which often were more positive. See Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, passim. Finally, observe that John Winthrop Jr.'s experiences in Constantinople generated no negative commentary in his letters to his father. See his correspondence in *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume 1, ed. Worthington C. Ford, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929), 402-403, 407-411, 417-418.

<sup>149</sup> Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 308-309.

<sup>150</sup> For John Hawkins, see the recent biography by Nick Hazelwood, *The Queen's Slave Trader: John Hawkyins, Elizabeth I, and the trafficking in Human Souls* (New York: Harpercollins, 2004), and an older work by P.E.H. Hair, "Protestants as Pirates, Slavers, and Proto-missionaries: Sierra Leone 1568 and 1582," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (July 1970), 203-224.



significant black presence in England, mainly in London and the port towns.”<sup>151</sup> The English considered the Africans “uncivilized” and they labeled them as savage, heathen, non-Christians whose skin color and very manner of living more resembled the animal than the human world.<sup>152</sup> These perceptions formed the foundation of a racial ideology toward Africans in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries which provided the English a rationale for the enslavement of Africans in the New World.<sup>153</sup>

The settlers of New England brought these various racial ideologies across the Atlantic as they encountered the Indians, transferring to them many of the same attributes they ascribed to the Irish and Africans. William Bradford’s settlers approached what became Plymouth Plantation

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<sup>151</sup> As Norma Myers reminds us; “black people have been a sustained a continuous presence in Britain for at least four centuries.” See her *Reconstructing the Black Past: Blacks in Britain, 1780-1830* (London: Routledge, 1996), passim; the quote is from page one. For the quote about London’s black presence, see Philip Morgan, *Strangers in the Realm, Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, ed. Bernard Bailyn (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1991), 159-160. Useful overviews on this topic include James Walvin, *Black and White, The Negro and English Society, 1555-1945* (London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1973), xiii-45; two works by Folarin Shyllon: *Black Slaves in Britain* (London: Published for The Institute of Race Relations, London by Oxford University Press, 1974), 1-16, and her self-described “compliment:” *Black People in Britain 1555-1833* (London: Published for The Institute of Race Relations, London by Oxford University Press, 1977), 3-35; Paul Edwards and James Walvin, “Africans in Britain Before the Eighteenth Century,” in *Black Personalities in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 3-15; Gretchen Gerzina, *Black England: Life before Emancipation* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 1-28.

<sup>152</sup> Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black, American Attitudes Towards the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 1-28, and Alden T. Vaughan, “Before Othello: Elizabethan Representations of Sub-Saharan Africans,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Series, Vol. LIV, No. 1, (January 1997), 19-44. Tellingly, though evidence exists expressing English concerns about how they might “turn Turk,” and “turn Indian,” and “become Wild Irish,” there seems to be little concern about “becoming African” or “becoming Black.” For examples of “turning Turk” see the sources I mentioned in footnote 31. For concerns about “turning Indian,” see the June 14, 1638 letter from Roger Williams, where he tells John Winthrop not to worry, “I have not yet turned Indian,” in the *Winthrop Papers*, Volume IV, ed. Allyn Bailey Forbes (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1944), 39. In another letter, Williams wrote to Winthrop about treating Indian captives well so that they would not “will to the enemy or turne wilde Irish themselves.” See Roger Williams to John Winthrop, June 21, 1637, in *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume III, 1631-1637, ed. Allyn Bailey Forbes, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1943), 433-434.

<sup>153</sup> For an overview of negative English attitudes towards Africans see Jordan, *White Over Black*, 1-28, and Vaughan, “Before Othello: Elizabethan Representations of Sub-Saharan Africans,” 19-44. For an alternative interpretation which stresses a more “ambiguous” English response to Africans, see P.E.H. Hair, “The English in West Africa to 1700,” in Nicholas Canny, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998), 241-263, and his “Attitudes to Africans in English Primary Sources on Guinea up to 1650,” *History In Africa*, Vol. 26, (1999), 43-67.

in Massachusetts by sea and “saw the land filled with wild beasts and wild men.”<sup>154</sup> The English consistently used the same language in describing the Indians as they had the Irish: “savage, uncivilized, and heathen.”<sup>155</sup> However, these “uncivilized” Indians would soon become an important slave labor force, alongside imported Africans first introduced via the West Indies onboard the *Desire*. As a result, Massachusetts would become the first English colony on the North American mainland to legalize slavery.

John Winthrop’s fleet first arrived in Massachusetts carrying one thousand English settlers. Survival was the paramount issue. Winthrop’s “city on a hill” faced formidable challenges, for “only a few hundred acres were cleared” for farming and beyond this lay forests with towering trees, some reaching two hundred feet in height.<sup>156</sup> The combination of spoiled supplies and a harsh first winter almost destroyed the colony, as some two hundred people died from malnutrition, starvation, disease, and exposure to the elements while another two hundred returned to England. Winthrop himself, like most men of his class, disdained manual labor, and had brought a large number of servants with him, eleven of which died that first winter. His

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<sup>154</sup> William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Samuel Elliot Morrison (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), 33.

<sup>155</sup> Nicholas Canny makes this point as well in his *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1565-1576* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1976), 160. Francis Bremer has recently argued that despite the “striking parallel” between the colonization efforts of the English against the Irish and Native Americans, he believes “they were (both) seen as culturally different from Englishmen, nor racially apart,” though he neither offers any explanation as to why this is the case nor provides any evidence in support of the claim. See Bremer, *John Winthrop*, 262-263, which leans heavily on the work of his dissertation advisor at Columbia, Alden T. Vaughan. See Vaughan’s “From White Man to Red Skin: Changing Anglo-American Perceptions of the American Indian,” *American Historical Review*, Volume 87, No. 4, (October 1982), 917-953, especially page 921, which invokes the culture argument. However, as Robert Berkhofer, Jr. explained, this was, in fact, an era in which “national character, racialism, and culture were confused and therefore blended together...race and national character...were the same thing” and “nations, races and cultures were all basically seen as one interchangeable category for the understanding of peoples.” See Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 24-25. James Sweet has recently echoed Berkhofer’s conclusions (though he fails to cite him.) See James Sweet, “The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. LIV, No. 1, (January 1997), 144-145. Richard Drinnon provided more evidence of English racism towards Indians, specifically in the context of the Pequot War, in his *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building* (New York: Schocken Books, 1990), 49-53.

<sup>156</sup> Edmund Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (New York: Longman, 1998), 48-56. The rest of the paragraph is also taken from Morgan.

capital was sufficient enough to purchase supplies from England to be sent over. Winthrop's coffers likely saved the colony from total collapse until the spring, when the colonists began planting crops.<sup>157</sup>

Still, the Bay colony faced serious problems, including how to continue paying for the needed supplies from England to ensure their survival. As Winthrop and others cast about trying to find a marketable staple good, such as furs, fish or wood products, the colony was sustained only by massive immigration, dubbed the "Great Migration" by subsequent historians, in which some 10,000-15,000 immigrants arrived between 1620 and 1640.<sup>158</sup> They brought with them manufactured goods like pots, kettles, guns, clothes, etc. and exchanged them for food and farming stocks produced by Winthrop's first group of settlers.<sup>159</sup>

Despite this influx of people and goods, New England still faced a serious labor problem. The manpower needs of Massachusetts were staggering, for as Daniel Vickers has explained, "establishing new towns and areas of settlement demanded huge amounts of labor. Land had to be cleared, barns erected, fences built, and mills constructed – all from scratch and demanding more manpower, equipment and skill on each piece of land than most early settlers could readily obtain."<sup>160</sup> In the nearby Plymouth Colony, William Bradford complained, "so much labor and service was to be done about building and planting such as wanted help in that respect, when

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid, 48-56.

<sup>158</sup> There are no precise figures. Useful overviews of the migration, including the complex economic and religious motives of those coming to New England, include Nellis M. Crouse, "Causes of the Great Migration," *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (January 1932, 3-36; T.H. Breen and Stephen Foster, "Moving to the New World: The Character of Early Massachusetts Migration," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. XXX, No. 2, (April 1973), 190-222; Virginia DeJohn Anderson, "Migrants and Motives: Religion and the Settlement of New England, 1630-1640," *The New England Quarterly*, Volume 58, No. 3, (September 1985), 339-383, and her expanded monograph on the same topic: *New England's Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

<sup>159</sup> Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma*, 59; Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955; reprint 1964), 46-47; John J. McCusker and Russel R. Menard, *The Economy of British North America, 1607-1789* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 1985), 94-95.

<sup>160</sup> Daniel Vickers, *Farmers and Fisherman* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 49-53.

they could not have such as they would, were glad to take such as they could” and the labor shortage was the subject of much discussion throughout Massachusetts.<sup>161</sup> Free laborers were both too few in number and too expensive, causing John Winthrop to grumble about “the excessive rates of laborers’ and workmen’s wages.”<sup>162</sup> He was still griping a few years later as “the wars in England” kept indentured “servants from coming to us.” Even “those we had” Winthrop complained, “could not be hired when their times were out, but upon unreasonable terms.”<sup>163</sup>

Two events quickly altered the labor situation in New England: the outbreak of the Pequot War in 1637 and an abrupt ending of emigrants arriving from England.<sup>164</sup> With the stoppage of goods and people in the late 1630s, the economy of New England plunged into a depression. This was compounded by “the general fear of want of foreign commodities.” Leaders such as Winthrop scrambled for a solution, acknowledging that any economic transactions would be difficult with “our money gone.”<sup>165</sup> The solution would be found where Pequot Indian survivors found themselves after the war: the West Indies.

During the Pequot War in 1637 various New Englanders actively sought the spoils of war, particularly human captives to be used as slave laborers. Hearing that captured Pequot women and children were “in the Bay,” Salem Reverend Hugh Peter wrote to John Winthrop that he and Mr. Endicott “would be glad of a share” of this human flesh, even going so far as indicate

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid, 45.

<sup>162</sup> February 2, 1641, in *Winthrop’s Journal*, Volume II, 24.

<sup>163</sup> May, 1645, in *Winthrop’s Journal*, Volume II, 228.

<sup>164</sup> The outbreak of the English Civil War in 1640 effectively ended the arrival of immigrants. By the summer of 1641, Winthrop observed how this situation “caused all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world.” June 2, 1641, in *Winthrop’s Journal*, Volume II, 31.

<sup>165</sup> Quotes from February 2, 1641, in *Winthrop’s Journal*, Volume II, 23. For a more general overview see Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma*, 60.

their preference for “a young woman or girl and a boy.”<sup>166</sup> Peter had already contacted Winthrop about the possibility of sending “some boys” to Bermuda where the demand was “considerable.”<sup>167</sup> After trapping some Pequots in a swamp and capturing them, Winthrop described how “the prisoners were divided” with some going to the soldiers present “and the rest to us” in Massachusetts.<sup>168</sup> Only the women and female children were deemed worthy of keeping as slaves and Winthrop described the actions of himself and other Massachusetts officials: “we send the male children to Bermuda, by Mr. Peirce,” though they ended up in the West Indies.<sup>169</sup> These children constituted the core human cargo for the voyage of the *Desire*. The human spoils of war were divided among the victors, “the women and maid children are disposed about in the towns. There have been now slain and taken in all about 700.”<sup>170</sup> At the conclusion of the war in 1637 the English had captured and spared approximately three hundred and nineteen Pequots, almost all of which were women and children.<sup>171</sup> Almost all the men were killed and then

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<sup>166</sup> Hugh Peter to John Winthrop, July 15, 1637 in *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume III, 1631-1637, ed. Allyn Bailey Forbes, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1943), 450.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid. Winthrop himself “used Indian slaves,” according to Francis Bremer. See Bremer, *John Winthrop*, 314. Winthrop’s Indian slaves ran away and he enlisted Roger Williams’ aid and influence with “friendly Indians” in trying to get them back, apparently to no avail. As Williams wrote to Winthrop, “I fear that all Indian means will not reach your just desires,” and the Indians would remain free. See Roger Williams to John Winthrop, May 21, 1640, in *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume IV, 1638-1644, ed. Allyn Bailey Forbes, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1944), 269. On the demand for laborers in Bermuda, see Bernhard, “Beyond the Chesapeake: The Contrasting Status of Blacks in Bermuda, 1616-1663,” 551.

<sup>168</sup> John Winthrop to William Bradford, May 28, 1637 in *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume III, 1631-1637, ed. Allyn Bailey Forbes, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1943), 457.

<sup>169</sup> John Winthrop to William Bradford, May 28, 1637 in *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume III, 1631-1637, ed. Allyn Bailey Forbes, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1943), 457. Though apparently one male Indian was to be sent to England; see Roger Williams to John Winthrop, July 5, 1637, *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume III, 1631-1637, ed. Allyn Bailey Forbes, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1943), 457.

<sup>170</sup> *Winthrop’s Journal*, Volume I, 1630-1649, ed. James Kendall Hosmer (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1908), 227-228, and John Winthrop to William Bradford, May 28, 1637, in *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume III, 1631-1637, ed. Allyn Bailey Forbes, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1943), 457.

<sup>171</sup> Michael L. Fickes, “ ‘They Could Not Endure That Yoke’: The Captivity of Pequot Women and Children after the War of 1637,” *The New England Quarterly* (March 2000), 61. Richard Davenport, an active soldier in the campaign against the Pequots, noted “almost 100 Indian women and Children” brought back at one time. See Richard Davenport to Hugh Peter, July 17, 1637 in *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume III, 1631-1637, ed. Allyn Bailey Forbes, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1943), 454.

beheaded, with the English carrying these as “as a token of their victory.”<sup>172</sup> The women and children were made slaves and dispersed throughout Massachusetts and Connecticut, with Richard Davenport approvingly noting how “Connecticut men have had their equal share in women” even before the general distribution of captives.<sup>173</sup> The influx of enslaved Indian laborers would have increased the overall population by 3 per cent and the servant population by almost 18 percent. In 1637 servants were about 17 per cent of New England’s immigrant population.<sup>174</sup>

Despite their victory over the Pequots and the addition of servile labor, New England’s existence was still threatened by the dismal state of the economy, compounded by loss of people returning to England and the sudden decline of new immigrants. Displeasure with the harsh living and working situation in New England combined with events in England, including the Scottish War in 1638 and the calling of Parliament in 1640, to keep potential immigrants at home and to draw those in New England to return home.<sup>175</sup> A “substantial” re-migration to England in the 1640s, especially between 1640 and 1642, further exacerbated “the depletion in manpower.”<sup>176</sup> Although the Pequot War had furnished additional laborers, the balance of payments remained a problem, as did the issue of the male Pequot Indians who were captured

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<sup>172</sup> Edward Johnson, *Johnson’s Wonder-Working Providence, 1628-1651*, ed. J. Franklin Jameson (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1910), 110. Even the Narragansett Indian allies who fought with the English against the Pequots were shocked by the brutality of the New Englanders. For more, see Ronald Dale Karr, “‘Why Should You Be So Furious?’: The Violence of the Pequot War,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 85, No. 3, (December 1998), 876-909. In addition to the secondary sources already mentioned, other overviews of the Pequot War include: Alden T. Vaughan, “Pequots and Puritans: The Causes of the War of 1637,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 2, (April 1964), 256-269; Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and Cant of Conquest*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1975); and Alfred A. Cave, *The Pequot War* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996).

<sup>173</sup> Richard Davenport to Hugh Peter, July 17, 1637 in *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume III, 1631-1637, ed. Allyn Bailey Forbes, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1943), 454.

<sup>174</sup> Fickes, “‘They Could Not Endure That Yoke’: The Captivity of Pequot Women and Children after the War of 1637,” 61.

<sup>175</sup> David Cressy, *Coming Over* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 199.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid*, 201.

and spared, including young male children. The West Indies soon became the solution to both problems, providing both a market for exports and a source for additional laborers.

Links between New England and the West Indies were established early in the colonizing process, even before the voyage of the *Desire*. They began with the initial English colonizing voyage to Barbados in 1627, which featured both the Winthrop family and the place of slavery in Puritan thinking. John Winthrop's son Henry arrived in Barbados on February 17, 1627, with the second ship of immigrants to the island and a desire to establish a tobacco plantation for himself.<sup>177</sup> Henry wrote to his uncle, Emmanuel Downing, to request "two or three servants...bound to me for three years," to act as laborers.<sup>178</sup> The aspiring Puritan tobacco lord excitedly described the absence of "any other people of any nations, save Englishmen," in Barbados, though he did note one important exception: "50 slaves of Indians and blacks."<sup>179</sup> Like his father, Henry expressed neither dismay nor disapproval about the existence of slaves in Barbados. His letter contains no trace of reflection about the ethics of holding other human beings in bondage.<sup>180</sup> The racial attitudes analyzed earlier were transplanted into the "new world" easily and without hesitation by men like Henry Winthrop and his fellow settlers.

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<sup>177</sup> Henry's brother, Samuel Winthrop, the youngest child of John Winthrop, would settle in the West Indies in 1647 and become a wealthy plantation slaveholder and plantation owner with various business operations in both Antigua, St. Kitts, and Barbuda. See Larry D. Gragg, "A Puritan in the West Indies: The Career of Samuel Winthrop," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 50, No. 4, (October 1993), 768-786, which chronicles his life but strangely argues that "there is little information available" about "his attitudes towards his slaves," in footnote 1, page 768, despite noting his ownership of at least sixty-seven slaves at the time of his death in 1667, on page 774.

<sup>178</sup> Henry Winthrop to Emmanuel Downing, August 22, 1627 in *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume 1, ed. Worthington C. Ford, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929), 356-7.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid*, 357.

<sup>180</sup> In a letter to his father that fall, Henry described the population of Barbados as "but 3 score of Christians and forty slaves of Negeres and Indynes." Henry Winthrop to John Winthrop, October 15, 1627, in *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume 1, ed. Worthington C. Ford, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929), 337-8, 356-7, 361-2. Since a score was 20 this would have made the percentage of the population free/unfree about 60/40. Whether ten slaves died, ran away, or Henry Winthrop was mistaken in his original estimate is unknown. Barbados had no indigenous cultures, the Indians were Guianese Araraks who had come from Surinam to teach the English how to plant tropical crops and were then enslaved. Henry's plantation generated a crop but the product was rejected as "ill-conditioned and fowle," and even his "Uncle and Aunt" would take none. His inability to grow marketable tobacco

As John Winthrop's fleet headed west across the northern Atlantic to New England in 1630 another expedition of Puritan settlers made their way to the southern Atlantic location of Providence Island the next year.<sup>181</sup> As the voyage of the *Desire* made clear, these West Indian-based Puritans would agreed to exchange New England's Pequot captives for African slaves.<sup>182</sup> The Providence Puritans, no less than their New England counterparts, embraced the enslavement of Africans with relative ease after finding indentured servants troublesome in every way – establishing a pattern found later in the more famously studied case of colonial Virginia.<sup>183</sup> Nevertheless, the island became the first slave society in the British Atlantic, a decade before Barbados in the 1640s.<sup>184</sup> English control of the colony was ended by a Spanish invasion and conquest in 1641 which forced the Puritans to scatter across the Atlantic, bringing their slaves with them. Some undoubtedly reached New England.<sup>185</sup>

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led to Henry's failure and return to Massachusetts, where he drowned in Northfield while trying to steal an Indian canoe. For Henry's death, see John Winthrop to his wife, October 9, 1629, in *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume 2, ed. Stewart Mitchell (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1931), 67-68. For the early history of Barbados in which Henry Winthrop operated, see Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 60-62, and Robert C. Batie, "Why Sugar? Economic Cycles and the Changing of Staples on the English and French Antilles, 1624-1654," *Journal of Caribbean History*, Vols.8-9, (1976), 1-41.

<sup>181</sup> Karen Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630-1641* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), passim, provides an exhaustive chronicle of the English colonization of the island while noting that the English "discovered" and "settled on Christmas eve 1629...the first shipload of colonists" didn't leave England until December, 1631. See pages 24-28.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid, 172-174. Kupperman estimated that the initial number of Africans sent back to New England was perhaps twenty though she does not explain the reasons for this number, especially since only fifteen Pequots were sent from New England.

<sup>183</sup> Edmund Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, remains the classic narrative, but see Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches & Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996) and Anthony S. Parent, *Foul Means: The Formation of a Slave Society in Virginia, 1660-1740* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003) for two more recent interpretations regarding the transition from indentured servants to African slaves.

<sup>184</sup> Kupperman, *Providence Island*, 175-176. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 226, argues for Barbados in 1640s shifting into massive African slave importations for labor power on the sugar plantations. Recently, Russell R. Menard has suggested that the use of African slave labor was underway before the "sugar boom," as he characterized it. See Russell R. Menard, *Sweet Negotiations: Sugar, Slavery, and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006.).

<sup>185</sup> Kupperman, *Providence Island*, 339-340. Curiously Kupperman does not mention any settlers heading to New England but given the strong religious connections between the two, not to mention the frequency in which people traveled between them, it would be surprising that some of the fleeing Providence Islanders did not travel to New England.



While slaves increased the available labor force in New England, the West Indies were even more important as an export market. Surveying the dire economic scene in June, 1641, John Winthrop chronicled how “these straits set our people on work to provide fish, clapboards, plank, etc. and to sow hemp and flax (which prospered very well) and to look out to the West Indies for a trade for cotton.”<sup>186</sup> The economic situation had become quite serious, “as our means for English commodities were grown very short, it pleased the Lord to open to us a trade with Barbados and other Islands in the West Indies.”<sup>187</sup> Winthrop described the pattern of exchange between the two regions: “the commodities we had in exchange for our cattle and provisions, sugar, cotton, tobacco, and indigo, were a good help to discharge our engagements (debts) in England.”<sup>188</sup> The trade expanded significantly and by the 1680s New England ships constituted almost half the naval traffic in the British West Indies.<sup>189</sup> Thus in the seventeenth century the “essential link” between New England and the plantation complex in the West Indies was forged - one which lasted and intensified through the eighteenth century, as the previous chapters have demonstrated clearly.

While the West Indies provided a key market for New Englander’s exports, and some slaves arrived from Providence Island, on other occasions New England ships acted as slave carriers for other British plantations: bringing slaves from Africa via the Cape Verde Islands to the Caribbean. In 1645, an unnamed ship from New England, loaded “with pipestaves” for the wine trade, headed to the Canary Islands and “brought wine, and sugar, and some tobacco (from)

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<sup>186</sup> June 2, 1641, in *Winthrop’s Journal*, Volume II, 31.

<sup>187</sup> *Winthrop’s Journal Volume II*, edited by James Kendall, (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1908), 31.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid*, 328.

<sup>189</sup> Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 336. The trade was not restricted to Bostonians. Rhode Islanders also expanded their trading activities with the West Indies. See Carl Bridenbaugh, *Fat Mutton and Liberty of Conscience, Society in Rhode Island, 1636-1690* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1974), 93-130.

Barbados in exchange for Africoes, which she carried from the Isle of Maio.”<sup>190</sup> Echoing the notation following the voyage of the *Desire*, Winthrop again provided no details regarding the human cargo brought from the Portuguese island, which served as both “a plantation society in itself,” based on African slave labor, and an “entrepot in the slave market” for ships making passage to Brazil.<sup>191</sup> As Winthrop noted, this was “one of our ships,” indicating that she had been built locally and likely sailed from Boston.<sup>192</sup> Unlike the trip to Maio from Boston, not all slaving voyages ended so successfully. One attempt, by Captain James Keyser of the *Rainbow*, in 1645, was greeted by protests, which resulted in the repatriation of two enslaved Africans who had been kidnapped and brought into Massachusetts, as opposed to legally purchased, off the African coast.<sup>193</sup>

Slavery in Massachusetts was codified in the *Body of Liberties* in 1641. Unlike the Chesapeake, where legalized slavery evolved slowly, Massachusetts Puritans were quick to provide legal sanction to bonded labor.<sup>194</sup> The Puritan achievement in legalizing slavery ahead of

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<sup>190</sup> Winthrop's *Journal Volume II*, 227. Maio was one of the Cape Verde Islands located off the west coast of Africa.

<sup>191</sup> Emilio F. Moran, “Evolution of Cape Verde's Agriculture,” *African Economic History*, No. 11 (1982), 65. For an exhaustive examination of the Brazilian sugar plantation complex, see Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society, Bahia, 1550-1835*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

<sup>192</sup> Winthrop's *Journal*, Volume II, 227. In another notation about a voyage Winthrop referred to the ship as “ours” and noted it had “sailed from Boston.” See Winthrop's *Journal*, Volume II, 228. Winthrop frequently described ships from Boston as “ours” in his *Journal*.

<sup>193</sup> Larry Gragg, “The Troubled Voyage of the Rainbow,” *History Today* (August 1989), 36-41. For Winthrop's report on this event, see Winthrop's *Journal*, Volume II, 252-253.

<sup>194</sup> The complexity and fluidity regarding the laws which affected slaves in the seventeenth century in Virginia until 1676 is persuasively described and documented in *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, Volume 1, ed. Helen Tunnicliff Catterall (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1926), 53-80; Edmund Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 295-337, describes this transition from indentured to slave labor, as does Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*, (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1998), 29-46, 109-141. Despite the fact that New Englanders officially legalized slavery a full quarter century before Virginians did so, historians have continued to focus on the Chesapeake region for understanding the “origins” of race and slavery in early British North America. For the “origins” debate, which has been framed entirely in the Chesapeake region, see Alden Vaughan, “The Origins Debate: Slavery and Racism in 17th Century Virginia,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (July 1989), 311-354. On this very issue Ira Berlin observed, in *Many Thousands Gone*, that “the literature on the status of the first black people to arrive in the Chesapeake is extensive, formidable, and inconclusive, in large measure because the incomplete evidence and the ambiguous language of ‘slavery’ and ‘servitude’ has become entangled in an all-encompassing discussion of the

their southern counterparts has not always been recognized.<sup>195</sup> Biblical influences are present throughout both the language and contents of the *Body of Liberties*.<sup>196</sup> The issue of slavery was addressed in article ninety-one, “There shall never be any bond slaverie, villinage or Captivitie amongst us unles it be lawfull Captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us.”<sup>197</sup> The precision of the wording reveals a familiarity with the process of enslavement by New Englanders towards Native Americans and the purchasing of slaves in Africa. The “just war” provision was clearly aimed at legalizing the enslaved Pequot Indians (and other future Indian captives) while the section on “strangers...sold to us” encompassed Africans, who, as non-Christian, dark-skinned, “savages” were clearly strangers to

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origins of racism in British North America.” Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, footnote 2, page 386, italics mine. I would note that neither the language in the *Body of Liberties* about slavery nor the actual enslavement of Indians and Africans by New Englanders was ambiguous.

<sup>195</sup> I think this adds to the myth of New England, by keeping the focus on slavery away from the region and more toward the American South. Neither Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619-1877*, 1<sup>st</sup> Revised Edition (New York: Hill & Wang, 1993, 2003) nor Kermit Hall, *The Law of American Slavery: Major Historical Interpretations* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987), mentioned the *Body of Liberties*. Three recent works: Bradley J. Nicholson, “Legal Borrowing and the Origins of Slave Law in the British Colonies,” *The American Journal of Legal History*, Vol. 38, No. 1, (January 1994), 38-54; Gloria J. Browne-Marshall, *Race, Law and American Society: 1607 to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2007); and *Slavery & the Law*, ed. Paul Finkelman, (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997) all ignored the law entirely and focused on the Chesapeake. Two recent, influential, and important synthetic works have continued this trend. The first, Ira Berlin’s *Many Thousands Gone*, has no discussion of the law, nor how and why slavery emerged in New England, except to say that “most slaves dribbled into” the region, “from the Caribbean Islands or the mainland South, an incidental residue of the larger Atlantic trade.” See Berlin, page forty-seven, and his discussion generally through page sixty-three. The second, David Brion Davis’ *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 126, omits the law, briefly notes the presence of both Indian and African slaves and the West Indian link, but does not explain how or why slavery emerged in New England.

<sup>196</sup> Simon P. Newman, “Nathaniel Ward, 1580-1652: An Elizabethan Puritan in a Jacobean World,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (Volume 127, 1991), argues for English common law as the primary intellectual source instead of a Biblical one. Newman’s emphasis, shared by Francis Bremer, contradicts the more prevalent reading of the law which stress the Biblical influences found in synthetic works on slavery like Betty Wood’s, *Slavery in Colonial America, 1619-1776* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 12-13. For Bremer’s interpretation, see his *John Winthrop*, page 312-313. Robin Blackburn, for reasons that are unclear, refers to the slavery section as an “awkward...resolution,” rather than a law, in his *The Making of New World Slavery* (Verso, New York 1997), 239.

<sup>197</sup> For the full text of the *Body of Liberties* see “A Coppie of The Liberties of the Massachusets Colonie in New England [facsimile],” in William H. Whitmore, *Colonial Laws of Massachusetts* (Boston, Mass.: City Council of Boston, 1890), 1-170. The slavery provision is on page 10. The next line of this “right” seemingly provides some possibility for some ‘rights’ a slave might possess: “And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of god established in Israell concerning such persons doeth morally require” but this was left open to interpretation. Furthermore, the question of who might be enslaved was ultimately left to government officials, as the last line clearly stated: “This exempts none from servitude who shall be Judged thereto by Authoritie.”

both “civilization” and “Christianity.” Unlike the rationalizations or mental contortions practiced by men like John Winthrop regarding the need to “Christianize” the Indians, no such expressions of “moral uplift” pervade the private letters or public documents from New England regarding “Africoes.”<sup>198</sup> In fact, slaves in Massachusetts arguably received less protection than livestock, whose owners were forbidden to “exercise any tyranny or cruelty towards” them and were even allowed to use public areas “to rest or refresh them, for competent time.”<sup>199</sup> No such protections were enacted for slaves. This was not an oversight, but rather a conscious act.<sup>200</sup>

As John Winthrop’s journal clearly indicates, every line in the *Body of Liberties* was carefully crafted, debated, reworked and adopted. The legislative session devoted to the drafting of the document lasted three weeks, and then the entire draft was “revised and altered by the court” before “sent forth into every town” for consideration before returning to be “revised, amended, and presented” to the court before final adoption in 1641.<sup>201</sup> The timing of the *Body of Liberties* was hardly coincidental. The presence of a significant group of Pequot Indian slaves and the importation of African slaves from Providence Island, plus the likelihood that shipments of African slaves from the West Indies, Africa, and other locales would continue all pushed the

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<sup>198</sup> The first such expression of uplift or concern with religious instruction seems to emerge in 1693 with the publication of Cotton Mather’s “*Rules for the Society of Negroes*,” (Boston 1693), which was aimed at instilled Christian morals and behavior amongst Boston’s African-American population.

<sup>199</sup> “A Copie of The Liberties of the Massachusets Colonie in New England [facsimile],” in William H. Whitmore, *Colonial Laws of Massachusetts* (Boston, Mass.: City Council of Boston, 1890), 39, 42. Robert C. Twombly and Robert H. Moore ignored the law entirely and instead argued that “ ‘slave’ was not precisely defined in seventeenth century Massachusetts,” and that “Massachusetts never forced Negroes into this status.” See their “Black Puritan: The Negro in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 24, No. 2 (April 1967), 225. Drawing on sporadic court cases from 1675-1700, they maintained that because some African-Americans appeared in court and owned land that there was less actual prejudice by whites in the colony. One might similarly conclude that because there were some free blacks in the antebellum southern United States that there was no real racism there either.

<sup>200</sup> My interpretation differs strongly from that proposed by Winthrop Jordan, who argued that the *Body of Liberties* reflected “Puritan ambivalence” regarding slavery and organized his discussion of slavery within New England under the heading “Unthinking Decision.” Jordan, *White Over Black*, 67. As I’ve indicated, the decision to legalize slavery appears anything but “unthinking.”

<sup>201</sup> *Winthrop’s Journal, Volume II*, 48-49.

colony into addressing the issue of slavery within the larger issue of “liberties” for the colonists. One of the more striking facts emerging from both the letters and journals of John Winthrop is the absence of any recorded dissent regarding the slavery issue - and if Winthrop was quick to record anything, it was dissent. Thus, the impression from the available documentation suggests a wider public comfort with the institution of slavery than just found among elites like Winthrop, Hugh Peter, Endicott, and others.

The absence of specified racial categories to justify the legal enslavement of either group should not be taken as signifying the absence of racialized attitudes towards Indians and Africans. By 1641, the need to justify slavery on the basis of race was unnecessary since there was rarely an assumption that Indians or Africans were part of the same “race” as the English (or even the other Europeans for that matter.) The racial differences were assumed under the larger rubric of “savagery” which, along with “heathenism,” placed both Indians and Africans outside humanity.<sup>202</sup> Colonists arriving in New England had considerable experience with other “savages” from Ireland to Istanbul – though in the later case attempts at domination were checked by the power of Islamic societies, who could enslave the English as easily as they, in turn, enslaved the Indians or Africans. Nevertheless, New Englanders decision to enslave Indians and Africans within their newly established colonies was forged out of the link with the West Indies, and the fateful voyage of the *Desire*.

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<sup>202</sup> One might counter this strong assertion by pointing to some supposedly exemplary figures such as Roger Williams in Rhode Island, who seemingly had a friendlier and more positive attitude toward Native Americans. For example, in establishing the colony he first asked permission to stay from his Indian hosts, then bought their land, and even learned an Indian language. However, this must be tempered by his attitudes and actions at the conclusion of the Pequot War when he asked John Winthrop for an Indian boy that he might have for his own and approvingly wrote how God had “put into your hands ***another miserable drove of Adams degenerate seed.***” (Bold and Italics mine.) Roger Williams to John Winthrop, June 30, 1637, *The Winthrop Papers*, Volume III, 1631-1637, ed. Allyn Bailey Forbes, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1943), 436. Additionally, as I noted earlier, when Winthrop requested aid from Williams in finding and returning his runaway Indian slaves Williams agreed to help without hesitation.

This voyage, and all it implied, was hidden by a group of New Englanders driven by a ideological project to create a history of the region imbued with a particular identity, which minimized slavery and their own direct investment in the West Indian plantation complex. Instead, it maximized a story of freedom and the triumph of “civilization” over “savagery.”

No one better represented this ideological project than Jeremy Belknap, one of the most important creators of New Englanders’ historical identity. Born in Boston on June 4, 1744, a fifth generation Belknap whose ancestors arrived in 1637 from England, young Jeremy received religious instruction and attended Harvard College.<sup>203</sup> Following graduation he served at various churches in Massachusetts and New Hampshire before becoming the lead minister in Dover, New Hampshire in 1769.<sup>204</sup> The town, situated along the Cocheco River, a tributary of the larger Piscataqua River, was deeply integrated into the West Indian plantation economy supplying timber products as the New Hampshire chapter explained.<sup>205</sup> He stayed in Dover until 1786 and eventually moved to Boston where helped to establish the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791, as he earned memberships in the American Philosophical Society, the Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Humane Society of Boston.<sup>206</sup> A tireless historian, Belknap produced, in addition to the multi-volume *History of New Hampshire*, a two-volume series entitled *American Biography*. Of these two major works the former has continued to serve as useful source for historians, myself included. Moreover, as several historiographic reviews have noted, Belknap’s *History of New Hampshire* “may now pretty clearly be seen as a milestone in American

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<sup>203</sup> Louis Tucker, *Clio’s Consort: Jeremy Belknap and the Founding of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston: 1990), 4-5.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid*, 6-8.

<sup>205</sup> It’s rather telling that Belknap biographer Louis Tucker describes Dover’s economy this way: “Lumbering was the mainstay of its economy with agriculture also important.” Here is yet another example of how one aspect of the economic situation is acknowledged: timber, yet where that timber is going – to support the slave economies of the West Indies - is completely omitted. Here again we see “the myth of New England.” See Tucker, *Clio’s Consort*, page 9.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid*, 36.

historiography.”<sup>207</sup> He worked on the three volume magnum opus - literally his life’s work - for twenty years. The first volume was published in Philadelphia in 1784, the second and third in Boston in 1791 and 1792. A second edition was published in Dover, New Hampshire in 1812 and then again in Boston in 1813. The work garnered high praise, not least from Alexis de Tocqueville, who proclaimed in 1835 that “the reader of Belknap will find in his work more general ideas, and more strength of thought, than are to be met with in the American historians even to the present day.”<sup>208</sup> Contemporaries writing histories of the nation, men like David Ramsey,<sup>209</sup> turned to Belknap’s work, as have modern scholars.<sup>210</sup> All have perhaps unwittingly incorporated assumptions Belknap made in framing the history of New Hampshire. For example, he skewed the economic realities of colonial New Hampshire by focusing on the mast trade to England to the near exclusion of the export economy integrated into the West Indian plantation complex.<sup>211</sup>

Even the best scholarship on Belknap has overlooked his minimization of economics and omission of the centrality of the West Indian trade. Sidney Kaplan’s excellent scholarly analysis of the *History of New Hampshire*, brimming with details on seemingly every aspect of the work, from creation to public reception, misses completely some basic facts regarding the economic history of the colony.<sup>212</sup> Kaplan asserted that “in its loving care for the homely detail of frontier

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<sup>207</sup> Sidney Kaplan, “The History of New Hampshire: Jeremy Belknap as Literary Craftsman,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (January, 1964), 18.

<sup>208</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, translated by Henry Reeve, revised edition, Volume II (New York: The Colonial Press, 1900), 363.

<sup>209</sup> David Ramsay, *Universal History*, (Philadelphia, 1818), which included a chapter on New Hampshire framed entirely as a conflict between “civilization” and “savagery,” that ended with Ramsay thanking “Dr. Belknap...to his writings, the author of this work acknowledges himself indebted, for most of the facts stated in the preceding details.” See page 142.

<sup>210</sup> As I noted in the New Hampshire chapter.

<sup>211</sup> I discussed this historiographic emphasis on the mast trade in the New Hampshire chapter.

<sup>212</sup> Kaplan, “The History of New Hampshire: Jeremy Belknap as Literary Craftsman,” 18-39.

life than the *History of New Hampshire* has lasting value as a readable, even exciting book.”<sup>213</sup> “Exciting” perhaps, but Belknap’s essential historical vision, viewed the colony as a frontier, and its history as the struggle between civilization, represented by the white, Christian, English settlers, against savagery, represented by the black, heathen, Indians. As Kaplan noted, “in anecdotes of Indian captivity the *History* is exceptionally rich.”<sup>214</sup> Although Belknap occasionally admitted that some Indian resistance was caused by English acts, this was overwhelmed by the larger and more consistent emphasis on the triumph of “civilization” over “savagery.”<sup>215</sup> Indians, Belknap argued, “retired before the face of civilization.”<sup>216</sup> Though Kaplan noted that Belknap spent a large part of the *History* “narrating these voluminous anecdotes of Indian wars and captivity,”<sup>217</sup> he did not see how this was related to Belknap’s omission of the West Indian economy in telling the history of the colony. Kaplan referred to Belknap, especially in regards to the *History of New Hampshire*, as “a literary craftsman,”<sup>218</sup> and so he was, but his historical creation about colonial New Hampshire told a particular tale about Indian wars and suppressed another about West Indian slavery. Such a decision was guided by Belknap’s larger ideological project: establish the history of New Hampshire, and by implication, all of New England, as one of freedom. For freedom, not slavery, would be the central historical principle of the newly created United States of America. This storyline neatly fit into the larger nationalist paradigm which was emerging as the newly formed United States. Its leading men of letters, like Belknap, himself a “pioneer nationalist” in his historical writing,<sup>219</sup> constructed a

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<sup>213</sup> Ibid, 23.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid, 25.

<sup>215</sup> Jeremy Belknap, “Letter to Henry Knox,” in *Columbian Centinel*, January 24, 1795.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>217</sup> Kaplan, “The History of New Hampshire: Jeremy Belknap as Literary Craftsman,” 26.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid, 19.

<sup>219</sup> Charles William Cole, “Jeremy Belknap: Pioneer Nationalist,” *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (December, 1937), 743-751.



story of a people seeking liberty from English despotism, all the while concealing their own involvement with the despotism of slavery.

Belknap filled his *History of New Hampshire* with details about wars with Indians, but said little about the economic foundations of colonial New Hampshire, especially in relation to the West Indies. He devoted a single chapter, twenty-one pages in all, to the topics “Trade, navigation, fishery and manufactures” within his three volume 1,333 page epic.<sup>220</sup> He succinctly noted the evolution of trade during the colonial era: “the first...was the fur trade, with the Indians; the next object was fish; and the third was lumber.”<sup>221</sup> He described the mast trade to England for two pages before noting “shipbuilding has always been a considerable branch of business,” and then accurately described the contours of the coasting trade: “an exchange of West-India commodities for corn, rice, flour, pork and naval stores.”<sup>222</sup> This was the first of only two occasions in the entire three volume work in which Belknap referred to the West Indies. The only other mention of the Caribbean came within the context of his discussion of the “foreign trade,” described as “very inconsiderable” since only “two or three vessels in a year would go to the free ports of the French and Dutch West Indies with cargoes of lumber, fish oil, and provisions and bring home molasses to be distilled into rum, in the only distil-house in New-Hampshire.”<sup>223</sup> Later, in describing the fishing industry Belknap wrote about “Jamaican fish,” which he described as “white, thin, and less firm...smallest, thinnest, and most broken,” and exported “to the West India islands,” though he failed to identify the imperial designation of

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<sup>220</sup> The page breakdown for the three volumes is as follows: Volume I – 361 pages; Volume II – 492 pages, and Volume III – 480 pages. For the brief section on economic matters see Jeremy Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, Volume III (Belknap & Young, Boston 1792), 203-226. Note that pages 218-226 are tables.

<sup>221</sup> Jeremy Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, Volume III (Belknap & Young, Boston 1792), 203.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid, 204.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid, 205. There was one mention of the post-American Revolution era trade with the West Indies: “Since the revolution, the trade to the British West Indies has ceased; but the French and Dutch ports in that quarter, are frequented by our lumber vessels; though the restrictions laid upon certain articles of their produce, render the voyages thither less profitable.”

those islands or who consumed the fish and why island buyers needed fish at all.<sup>224</sup> Yet, fish was an essential source of protein for enslaved Africans working the plantation complex.

Belknap found no reason to mention the significance of the West Indies as an export market, even though, he had, by his own admission, access to New Hampshire's port records, directly from the Customs Officer.<sup>225</sup> He did mention, in the last sentence of the chapter on "Trade, navigation, fishery and manufactures," that one product made in New Hampshire was exported for use by "Negroes, who labor on the plantations."<sup>226</sup> In this case, though, the product was "tow-cloth" and the markets were "the Southern States."<sup>227</sup> Belknap certainly knew how important the West Indies were as an export market during the colonial era, for he had lived in the region in New Hampshire supplying nearly one-third of all the wood exported to the West Indies. Why omit these facts? They were inconvenient to his larger narrative: rugged Christians, proto-Americans, forging "civilization" in the "wilderness" and creating "New Hampshire." Belknap could not admit that "New Hampshire" or even the United States depended on the West Indian plantation complex. He could admit, on one occasion, that New Hampshire's original inhabitants, the various Indian nations, had just cause in some cases to resist English encroachment and were driven from their land through warfare and illegal purchase. Belknap could lament this as regrettable but ultimately understandable, since the natives were "savages retiring before the face of civilization." But such rationalizations were impossible when dealing with the reality of slave labor in the Caribbean. This situation threatened the ideological project

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<sup>224</sup> Ibid, 214.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid, 205, 212.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid, 218.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid, 218.

of nationalism and self-identity that Belknap and other men of letters worked hard to create.<sup>228</sup> The historic centrality of slave labor to the new United States was something to be denied as a new regional identity was forming in New England which espoused a “free white North” in opposition to a slave labor south.<sup>229</sup> The narrative power of New England became one of freedom: over the savagery of the Indians and often explicitly, in opposition to the slave south, all the while omitting their own foundational interdependence upon the West Indian plantation complex and the Africans at its’ center.

New Englanders essentially cast the responsibility for slavery elsewhere and congratulated themselves for their commitment to freedom. As historian Lewis P. Simpson observed, in this interpretation, “New England represented the truth of the republic.”<sup>230</sup> This particular historical vision, as Jack Greene explained, became the dominant perspective: “beginning in the mid-1870s, three generations of professional scholars and analysts, followed a path marked out for them by the amateur New England historian George Bancroft, who wrote the story of what America was and how it had become that way very largely in terms of the experience of the North and northerners, and more particularly of New England and New Englanders.”<sup>231</sup> As Peter Novick has written, this wasn’t just a case of what was being written, but who was writing it: “New England dominance in historical writing extended well into the era of its professionalization.”

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<sup>228</sup> There were similar evasions elsewhere. For example, in one of the original drafts of the *Declaration of Independence*, Thomas Jefferson tried to blame George III for introducing the slave trade, yet he owned one hundred and seventy five slaves when he drafted this indictment. See Paul Finklemen, *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson*, rev. edition (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2001), 129-195.

<sup>229</sup> Melish, *Disowning Slavery, Gradual Emancipation and “Race” in New England, 1780-1860*, 210-237.

<sup>230</sup> Lewis P. Simpson, *Mind and the American Civil War, A Mediation on Lost Causes* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 35.

<sup>231</sup> Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 3. Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 73.

The master narrative Bancroft and his followers created stressed that New England was America writ large: a zone of freedom forged out of the confrontation between “savagery,” represented by the Indians, and “civilization,” represented by English colonists.<sup>232</sup> This was essentially Belknap’s narrative, only now New England was made to stand for all of America. Moreover, the importance of slavery in the historical development of America was carefully circumscribed to the southern colonies. New Englanders’ own direct involvement, from the voyage of the *Desire*, to the earliest legalization of slavery and sustaining the West Indian plantation complex, was completely omitted. In fact, reading Bancroft one might assume there was never any trade between the two regions, as he strategically left this inconvenient branch of trade out of his creation myth entirely.<sup>233</sup> Instead, Bancroft re-created “the first planters of Massachusetts” as abolitionists who “always opposed the introduction of slaves from abroad,” rather than the first colonists on the British mainland to legalize the practice.<sup>234</sup>

The West Indian connection also remained hidden despite the existence of a voluminous and ever-expanding body of scholarship on New England, nearly all of which focused on religious questions related to Puritanism.<sup>235</sup> New England came to mean Puritanism and vice versa. The main avenues of scholarly inquiry involved a range of religious issues: the antinomian

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<sup>232</sup> Dorothy Ross, “Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth Century America,” *American Historical Review*, Volume 89, No. 4, (October 1984), 915-919; Richard C. Vitzthum, “Theme and Method in Bancroft’s History of the United States,” *The New England Quarterly*, Volume 41, No. 3, (September 1968), 362-380.

<sup>233</sup> George Bancroft, *A History of the United States*, Volume 1 (Boston, 1834).

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid*, 408. Bancroft went even further, making slavery into a positive good and writing that despite “the horrors of slavery and the slave trade, the masters had, in part at least, performed the office of advancing and civilizing the negro.”

<sup>235</sup> As one recent synthetic reviewer noted, “the literature on American Puritanism is voluminous and continues to grow.” Joseph A. Conforti, *Saints and Strangers, New England in British North America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 217. In his sweeping historiographic review essay in 1987 David D. Hall estimated that between 1970 and 1987 probably more than one thousand new pieces of scholarship appeared on the Puritans and nearly all on religious issues. See David D. Hall, “On Common Ground: The Coherence of American Puritan Studies,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol.44, No.2 (April 1987), 193. An earlier “state of the field” essay which chronicled the scholarship of the 1960s is Michael McGiffert, “American Puritan Studies in the 1960s,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol.27, (1970), 36-67.

crisis, the nature of government (theocracies or democratic), witchcraft, and definitions of Puritanism, just to name a few.<sup>236</sup> The most influential historian in this set of developments was Perry Miller, who while “unloading oil drums in the Belgian Congo,” and feeling “disconsolate at the edge of jungle” had an “epiphany...thrust upon me to study...the innermost propulsion of the United States”<sup>237</sup> – Puritanism. Miller ushered in the modern study of Puritanism and believed his work examined “the architecture of the intellect brought to America by the founders of New England.”<sup>238</sup> Tellingly, neither the “innermost propulsion” nor the “architecture of the intellect” in New England had anything to do with slavery.<sup>239</sup> Not only was slavery absent from Miller’s work, so were ideologies that sanctioned the institution. He had no place for the voyage of the *Desire* in history. Miller’s work appeared at a time where “the postulate that Puritanism has been one of the principle influences in the development of American civilization is an assumption rarely questioned by writers of our history.”<sup>240</sup> In this situation, the West Indian plantation complex in New England’s development received little attention. Instead, the linkage

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<sup>236</sup> *Puritanism in Early America*, Second Edition, ed. George M. Waller, (Lexington: D.C. Heath and Company, 1973), contains twelve essays by various historians exploring many of these issues.

<sup>237</sup> Miller’s discussion of his “vision,” and the above quotes by him, are discussed in a revealing biography written by one of his students: Kenneth S. Lynn. See his “Perry Miller,” *The American Scholar*, Vol.52, Issue 2 (Spring 1983), 221-227. The quotes cited above from Miller appear on page 221. For an interpretation of Miller’s “epiphany,” see Avihu Zakai, “‘Epiphany at Matadi’: Perry Miller’s Orthodoxy in Massachusetts and the Meaning of American History,” *Reviews in American History*, Vol.13, No.4 (Dec. 1985), 627-641.

<sup>238</sup> Perry Miller, *The New England Mind, From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953), ix. Miller penned a famous article along the same lines: “Errand Into the Wilderness,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, Vol. 10, No. 1, (January 1953), 4-32. As David Hall noted, Miller himself has become a figure of historical inquiry and his work still remains “a focus of discussion.” See Hall, “On Common Ground: The Coherence of American Puritan Studies,” 195, and the secondary literature on Miller he cites in footnote 8. Miller also “rehabilitated” the Puritans and, reacting against the Progressive school of history, stressed ideas – “the predominant influence of ideas in causing change,” as opposed to any focus whatsoever on economic or material conditions in which those ideas existed. See Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth About History*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994), 142-146 for a discussion of Miller and his influence. The quotes are from page 142-143. I would characterize Miller’s approach as extremely Whiggish.

<sup>239</sup> Here Miller exemplifies the “vow of silence” that white scholars took to make African-Americans invisible in American history. See Appleby, Hunt and Jacob, *Telling the Truth About History*, 296, and Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 72-85.

<sup>240</sup> George Waller, “Introduction,” in *Puritanism in Early America*, First Edition, ed. George M. Waller, (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1950), ii. In fact, it continues unabated into the present. For a recent example see George McKenna, *The Puritan Origins of American Patriotism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

between the Puritans and the core values in American history received continued emphasis throughout the rest of the century and in the 1980s claims were made that “Puritan pattern of values...became the moral framework of northern European and American civilization.”<sup>241</sup> Such proclamations, made without evidence and any mention that those “values” included racism and slavery, have been challenged – though with varying degrees of success.

The Puritan stranglehold on the history of New England was challenged in the 1960s and 1970s as the rise of the “new social history” soon produced an outpouring of “New England town studies,” redirecting historical inquiry to small towns.<sup>242</sup> Ironically, the impact of these works actually re-affirmed the centrality New England had commanded since the nineteenth century.<sup>243</sup> This scholarship also continued to promote “the declension model of early New England history,” and emphasized “the world we have lost,” with an emphasis on the decline of

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<sup>241</sup> John Adair, *Founding Fathers, The Puritans in England and America* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd, 1982), xii. The claim extended beyond academia. President Ronald Reagan publicly invoked the Puritans, and John Winthrop’s phrase “a city on a hill,” several times during his career as emblematic of America. In one notable instance, in his farewell Presidential address, he made John Winthrop into both a “Pilgrim” and a “freedom man.” See “Farewell Address to the Nation, January 11, 1989.” The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan. <http://www.reaganlibrary.com/reagan/speeches/farewell.asp>. Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. (accessed September 5, 2008). For an investigation into how Reagan used this rhetoric more broadly, see Amos Kiewe and Davis W. Houck, *A shining city on a hill: Ronald Reagan’s economic rhetoric, 1951-1989*, (New York: Praeger, 1991). The tre

<sup>242</sup> Major titles included John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), Philip J. Greven Jr., *Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970); Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town, The First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736* (New York: Norton, 1970) and Michael Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: L Knopf, 1970). For a comprehensive list of town studies, see Ronald Dale Karr, “New England Community Studies since 1960: A Bibliography,” *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 138 (July and October, 1984), 186-202, 290-308. For a critique of the community study approach, see John W. Adams, “Consensus, Community and Exoticism,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Volume 12, No. 1 (Autumn, 1981), 253-265; and John W. Adams and Alice Bee Kasakoff, “Anthropology, Genealogy, and History: A Research Log,” in Robert M. Taylor and Ralph J. Crandall, eds. *Generations and Change, Genealogical Perspectives in Social History* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986), 63-65. Darret Rutman has produced a fine summary of the rise of social history in his *Small Worlds, Large Questions: Explorations in Early American Social History* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 16-33. As noted earlier, Puritanism, as a study of inquiry, however did not recede under this assault by social historians. If anything, the scholarship has only expanded as I noted earlier.

<sup>243</sup> Carla Gardina Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger, “Introduction,” in *Inequality in Early America*, Pestana and Salinger, eds. (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), Footnote 7, page 18.

community and the rise of individualism.<sup>244</sup> Slaveowning remained an individual act, made possible by an Atlantic economic system with links stretching from New England port towns to the West Indies to Africa and Europe, including England.

Moreover, the voyage of the *Desire* and Winthrop's admission that the dire economic situation of the early settlement years was alleviated by the explosive demand from the slave labor plantation complex: "it pleased the Lord to open to us a trade with Barbados and other Islands in the West Indies," that I have emphasized in this chapter support the work of a number of historians, including those pursuing economic inquiries, which have demonstrated that early New Englanders were quite eager to pursue monetary endeavors and profit-making enterprises at the very outset, activities frequently linked to the rise of individualism which supposedly follows the decline of community.<sup>245</sup> Yet these studies have focused on merchants, or the "tension"

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<sup>244</sup> Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness*, 55-56, discusses the "declension model," as does Darret Rutman in his fine overview of community studies, "Community Study," in *Small Worlds, Large Questions*, 34-40. Part of this debate about declension and individualism, it seems to me, is implicitly connected to the larger "transition to capitalism" debate; itself the subject of a very large scholarly literature. For a recent and useful overview of arguments surrounding this topic and the expansive secondary literature, see Naomi R. Lamoreaux, "Rethinking the Transition to Capitalism in the Early American Northeast," *The Journal of American History*, Volume 90, No. 2, (September 2003), 437-461.

<sup>245</sup> *Winthrop's Journal Volume II*, edited by James Kendall, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 31. Two classic works which demonstrate New Englanders economic activity are Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955) and Carl Bridenbraugh, *Fat Mutton and Liberty of Conscience: Society in Rhode Island, 1636-1690* (Brown University Press, Providence 1974). More recent work includes Christine Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690 -1750*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1984); John Frederick Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Daniel Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen, Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1850* (Chapel Hill: University Press of North Carolina, 1994); Stephen Innis, *Creating the Commonwealth, The Economic Culture of Puritan New England*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995); Daniel Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea, Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); 1-60. Nevertheless, as David D. Hall pointed out in "On Common Ground: The Coherence of American Puritan Studies," among the existing bodies of work, there is tremendous disagreement about some of the basic questions involving New England's history: "this revisionism (on all the specific religious interpretations regarding Puritanism) has been complemented by broader efforts to rethink the relationship between religion and society."(226) Heyrman, Martin and Innis all engage this question. However, social historians studying New England have come to very different viewpoints on the relationship between religion and society within the region, leading Hall to conclude, "These extreme differences of interpretation suggest that we are far from being in agreement on what constitutes the social history of New England or the message of the ministers."(226) He gives an example whereby Puritanism has been seen as a modernizing force of the rising bourgeoisie and also an ideology in

between Puritanism and economic development, not on the West Indian dimension and the related question of slavery and racism which remained outside the “mainstream” narrative of colonial New England.<sup>246</sup> But as the “town studies” inquiries challenged New England from within, so to speak, a larger historiographic assault came from outside as historians investigating the Chesapeake region who, during the Civil Rights era, challenged the master narrative of Bancroft and the New England-centric interpretation of colonial American history.

Before turning to this frontal challenge which undermined the standard meta-narrative concerning New England within the historiographic mainstream, we must briefly review what I will call a “dissenting tradition” of scholarship which predated these events and offered historians important insights into New England’s connection to the West Indian plantation complex. The alternative view emphasized New England’s involvement in the slave trade, rather than the larger economic links between the two regions detailed in previous chapters. Even to raise New Englanders’ participation in the slave trade, in which the majority of slaves were sold to the West Indies, was until quite recently more than some historians could endure.<sup>247</sup> The heavy ideological investment in presenting New England as the birthplace of freedom, including religious and political freedom, and representative of America writ large prevailed. Ignoring the *Desire* and the deep structural links to the West Indian plantation complex, were central to this

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opposition to capitalism.(226-227). Thus, he concluded, “social historians differ in their understanding of the social consequences of religion.”(227)

<sup>246</sup> I examine the radical challenge to the mainstream historiography in the next paragraph.

<sup>247</sup> Jay Coughtry, “The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade, 1700-1807,” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1978), 1-68, discusses this issue at length. Coughtry’s book of the same title: *The Notorious Triangle, Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade 1700-1807* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), does not include this very thorough overview. Despite the voluminous data Coughtry himself assembled on this issue leading economic historians John J. McCusker and Russel R. Menard dismissed the importance of Africa as an export region and the slave trade for Rhode Island in particular, ignoring the evidence Coughtry so carefully documented. See their *The Economy of British North America, 1607-1789* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 1985), 107-108, footnote 25, and 287-288, footnote 13.



project. Still, a few dissenting voices challenged this denial – though their alternative history was also ignored.

The first critical assessment emerged just after the Civil War, in 1866, with the publication of George H. Moore's *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*.<sup>248</sup> Drawing on primary sources, Moore, a white abolitionist New Englander, chronicled slavery from the colonial era through the 1830s. He began by discussing the voyage of the *Desire*, the enslaving of Indians and Africans, the language and background of the *Body of Liberties*, and demonstrated the long historical ease with which members of the Bay state engaged, tolerated, legalized and profited from slavery. Moore did not explore the primacy of the West Indian plantation economy for Massachusetts nor how and why it emerged.<sup>249</sup> Although he did not explain the historical origins of New Englanders' racial ideologies Moore provided a catalogue of information which clearly indicated the importance of slavery in the development of New England's most important colony. Moore's history - and his critique of the reigning historical interpretation of his era - has remained "unsung."<sup>250</sup> Though faced with "mixed reviews" by critics and assailed by those angered by his opposition to "the canonization of Massachusetts," Moore never relented in his presentation of the facts, however unpleasant they may have seemed to those he dubbed "the new

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<sup>248</sup> George H. Moore, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1866).

<sup>249</sup> Moore also initiated the trend of emphasizing investment in the slave trade, rather than the larger economic role of the West Indian plantation complex.

<sup>250</sup> John David Smith, *Slavery, Race and American History: Historical Conflicts, Trends, and Method, 1866-1953* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), 3. Smith's chapter on Moore, "Tormentor of Massachusetts," pages 3-15, rescues Moore and provides a much-needed and critical re-assessment of the man and his work – the only published one so far. I would add to Smith's praise by noting that Moore's work, overwhelmingly based on primary sources, still retains much of its intellectual force and rigor.

School of Puritans.”<sup>251</sup> Nevertheless, Moore’s work made no impact on the wider historical narrative.<sup>252</sup>

Moore pioneered the study of New Englanders involvement in the slave trade but over time this inquiry was narrowed. William B. Weeden’s “The Early African Slave Trade in New England,” published in 1887, chronicled New Englanders’ investment and activity in the slave trade almost entirely in the eighteenth century but strangely ignored Moore’s book, along with any mention of the *Body of Liberties*, the voyage of the *Desire*, and supplies to the West Indian plantation complex.<sup>253</sup> Continuing this interpretive focus, W.E.B. Du Bois also examined the slave trade, and stressed that “the significance of New England” was not that residents had “early discounted the system of slavery and stopped importation, but rather...the fact that her citizens...early took part in the carrying slave-trade.”<sup>254</sup> Drawing on Moore and Weeden, along with his own research, Du Bois mentioned the *Body of Liberties*, but not how and why it emerged.<sup>255</sup> Because Du Bois’ stated focus was “to set forth the efforts made...to limit and

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<sup>251</sup> Smith, *Slavery, Race and American History*, 9, on the reviews, and Moore himself is quoted on pages 9, 11.

<sup>252</sup> As I discussed earlier, Bancroft presented a much different version of New England’s history, as have the Puritan-centric historians reviewed previously.

<sup>253</sup> William B. Weeden, “The Early African Slave Trade in New England,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, Volume V, October 1887-October 1888 (Worcester 1889), 107-128. Weeden would later incorporate this essay within his massive, two volume *Economic and Social History of New England, 1620-1789* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1890-1891). Weeden continued to ignore Moore’s work but did note the voyage of the *Desire*, though he made no comment about it. Instead, he identified the failed voyage of the *Rainbow* as “The First Slave Trade” in New England. Volume 1, pages 148-149. Weeden did mention the importance of the West Indian trade in the development and expansion of New England’s economy but he neither provided any systematic or organized analysis nor linked this trade to slavery in any way. Weeden’s decision not to explain the purposes served by New England commodities in sustaining the plantation complex and thus link the region with slavery served as the model for later historians, who, though noting the “West Indian trade,” continued this trend. See Richard Pares, *Richard Pares Yankees and Creoles, The trade between North America and the West Indies before the American Revolution* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1956), for an example of this type of analytical approach.

<sup>254</sup> W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1896), 27.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid*, 30. Interestingly, Du Bois does not mention that this was the first law legalizing slavery in what became the United States.

suppress the trade in slaves,”<sup>256</sup> his decision to omit the West Indian trade made sense. However, the interpretive emphasis regarding New Englanders’ involvement with slavery was now firmly a question about their participation in the slave trade, rather than how they profited from a broader engagement in the West Indian plantation complex.<sup>257</sup> Even this was too much for white historians – and DuBois’ would be ostracized by the historical profession.

Lorenzo Greene strengthened this line of inquiry into New Englanders’ links to the slave trade in his 1942 classic *The Negro in Colonial New England*. He returned to the broader approach of Moore.<sup>258</sup> Although Greene’s main purpose was to offer “a general work on the role of the Negro in colonial New England,” he began by examining how slavery emerged within the region, re-asserting the importance of the *Desire* and the *Body of Liberties* as crucial events.<sup>259</sup> He also identified the importance of the West Indies for New England’s economic prosperity: “vital to the slave trade as well as to New England’s economy were sugar, rum and molasses.”<sup>260</sup> Yet Greene emphasized the slave trade itself: “by the eve of the American Revolution the slave

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<sup>256</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>257</sup> As previously mentioned Jay Coughtry has documented this historiography surrounding New Englanders’ participation in the slave trade. One exception to the focus on the slave trade emerged from a completely different work: Frank Wesley Pittman’s *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917). Pittman, a historian at Yale, boldly claimed on the first page of the Preface: “It was the wealth accumulated from West India trade which more than anything else underlay the prosperity and civilization of New England and the Middle Colonies.”(vii) Unfortunately, Pittman failed to provide the hard data to support this claim relying, by his own admission, “in the main upon correspondence from colonial Governors to the British Board of Trade.”(ix) Though he did use these sources to great effect to chronicle the continuous illegal trading between New England and the “foreign West Indies,” he only briefly examined two of the four New England colonies: Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Historians of New England ignored his emphasis on the economic linkages between the two regions. The work of Pittman and others stressing the West Indian connections were “virtually eclipsed in the nationalistic and introspective climate of the cold war.” See Andrew Jackson O’Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided, the American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), xii-iii. Thus, even a historian at an elite New England university had trouble breaking the Puritan intellectual deadlock.

<sup>258</sup> Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), Preface, no page number given. As Betty Wood observed, Greene’s work still “remains the only book-length study of the colonial era” involving African-Americans and slavery. See Betty Wood, *The Origins of American Slavery: Freedom and Bondage in the English Colonies* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1997), 126.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid, 16-20.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid, 25.

trade formed the very basis of the economic life of New England,”<sup>261</sup> which led him to conclude that the slave trade “was one of the foundations of New England’s economic structure.”<sup>262</sup> Thus, for Greene the West Indian connection mattered primarily as a major export zone for slaves to be sold and as the “vital” source whereby sugar and molasses became rum and sold back along the African coast for more slaves: “There came into vogue the famous triangle triangular slave trade, with New England, Africa, and the West Indies as focal points.”<sup>263</sup> Supplying the West Indian plantation complex still remained outside the critical lens of the dissenters like Greene. But two years later a work appeared that finally exposed New Englanders involvement with supplying the West Indian plantation complex, though this was but one part of a larger, integrated controversial argument.

In 1944 the University of North Carolina Press published *Capitalism and Slavery* by Eric Williams. Suddenly the central motive force behind capitalism was revealed to be slavery, not freedom.<sup>264</sup> As various historians have observed, Williams challenged many established interpretations regarding the economic importance of slavery, but his main focus was on England, not America. He was largely ignored by American historians until the 1960s, when his work was re-discovered and re-issued three times between 1961 and 1966 during the Civil Rights struggle.<sup>265</sup> Williams examined the American dimension in a single chapter: “The American

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<sup>261</sup> Ibid, 69.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid, 319. As previous dissertation chapters have stressed, this was only true for Rhode Island.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid, 24.

<sup>264</sup> Eric Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1966; originally published University of North Carolina Press, 1944). For three historiographic overviews see: Roger T. Anstey, “Capitalism and Slavery: A Critique,” *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 21, No. 2, (August 1968), 307-320; Seymour Drescher, “British Capitalism and British Slavery,” *History and Theory*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (May 1987), 180-196; Selwyn H.H. Carrington, “Capitalism & Slavery and Caribbean Historiography: An Evaluation,” *The Journal of African-American History*, Vol. 88, No. 3, (Summer 2003), 304-312.

<sup>265</sup> Anstey, “Capitalism and Slavery: A Critique,” 307-309.

Revolution.”<sup>266</sup> Williams’ nine pages discussing trade between New England and the West Indies were more powerful than anything previously offered on the regarding this topic.<sup>267</sup> There was an implicit suggestion, a “sub-thesis,” that the West Indies were somehow at the heart of the New England economy even though Williams offered scant evidence by contemporary standards in support of the claim, he noted only the food stocks sent from the region.<sup>268</sup> Historians of New England responded with a profound silence.

Nevertheless, the re-discovery of Williams was part of a larger challenge to the very essence of the historical narrative and this must be understood as arising in the wider context of the Civil Rights movement, which demanded that slavery be part of the master narrative of American history.<sup>269</sup> As Peter Wood observed, “not until the 1960s did the effort to challenge America’s persistent denial regarding enslavement take on renewed force.”<sup>270</sup> Until then, what Peter Novick called “the nationalist and racist historiographical consensus” held firm to the denial.<sup>271</sup> Nevertheless, the challenge from outside the academy had profound consequences

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<sup>266</sup> In his chapter “Commerce and the Triangular Trade,” Williams noted how “the maintenance of the Negroes and their owners on the plantations provided another market for British industry, New England agriculture, and the Newfoundland fisheries,” but saved his full analysis for later. See Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery*, 52.

<sup>267</sup> Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery*, Chapter Six: “The American Revolution,” pages 108-125, begins with the quote from Pittman I mentioned earlier. The eight pages are 108-112, 116-120.

<sup>268</sup> Selwyn H.H. Carrington, “Capitalism & Slavery and Caribbean Historiography: An Evaluation,” *The Journal of African-American History*, Vol. 88, No. 3, (Summer 2003), 306, mentions the idea of “sub-theses” within Williams’ work, though not the one I have above. For Williams’ exclusive focus on food stocks, see *Capitalism & Slavery*, pages 108-120, but especially pages 109-111. Seymour Drescher, “British Capitalism and British Slavery,” *History and Theory*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (May 1987), 180-196, also reviews Williams and suggests multiple “theses,” on page 186. As Anstey, Drescher, and Carrington all observed, Williams continues to have an impact. Indeed, as I mentioned in the introduction, this dissertation project was originally inspired by what I read in Williams about New England – facts which were never mentioned during my life there.

<sup>269</sup> Carl N. Degler, “Modern American Historiography,” in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. Michael Bentley (New York: Routledge, 1997), 711-718. There had always been a strong movement of African-American historians working to include the historical experiences of African-Americans, but until the Civil Rights movement they were both few in number and seemingly made little impact on the “white” master narrative. See Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 231-232, 482-491.

<sup>270</sup> Peter Wood, “Slave Labor Camps in Early America: Overcoming Denial and Discovering the Gulag,” in *Inequality in America*, 226.

<sup>271</sup> Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 77. See also the comments by Philip Morgan in “Rethinking Early American Slavery,” in *Inequality in America*, 240-241, concerning how major historical works continue to omit and avoid

inside, as “mainstream” historians began to re-discover the centrality of slavery and the prominence of African-Americans in the history of the United States.<sup>272</sup> They were joined by some within the academy who began pushes to dislodge New England as “the” center of early American history.<sup>273</sup>

Historians had already become aware that New England had become “the yardstick by which the Chesapeake and other regions were measured.”<sup>274</sup> New scholars of the Chesapeake region, what became known as “the Chesapeake school,” yielded an entirely new interpretation of colonial American history, with serious implications beyond that particular era for the basic framework of how we understand the “origins” of the United States.<sup>275</sup> Ironically, the paradigm emerged from someone not formally part of the “Chesapeake school,” and who had originally been a leading light in the story of New England’s Puritans: Edmund S. Morgan.<sup>276</sup> He turned his considerable intellectual acumen to the rise of slavery and freedom in early America, first in

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slavery. Since then, as Morgan documents, the literature on the topic of slavery has risen exponentially from roughly “four thousand items published between the mid 1950s and 1980, to more than 1000 a year presently and the bibliography stands at about sixteen thousand.” Morgan, 240-241. For the historical interpretations of slavery in the previous era, see John David Smith, *Slavery, Race, and American History: Historical Conflict, Trends, and Method, 1866-1953* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999).

<sup>272</sup> Other long-marginalized groups such as women, workers, Latinos, Native Americans (and of course these are not fixed categories since one could easily be an female, Indian or a Latino factory worker or some combination thereof) also challenged the existing power structure of America, and produced similar changes in the American history narrative. See Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 469-521, and Howard Zinn, *Declarations of Independence: Cross-Examining American Ideology*, (New York: HarperPerennial, 1991), 64-65, who notes that during “the unapologetic activism of the sixties (making history in the street as well as writing it in the study) was startling to many professional historians.” Obviously, I am focusing my efforts here just on the issues of colonial New England, slavery, the West Indies, and racism.

<sup>273</sup> For our purposes the best example is perhaps Gary Nash, as noted in the biographical and historiographical essay about him written by Carla Gardina Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger in their “Introduction,” in *Inequality in Early America*, 1-22.

<sup>274</sup> “Introduction,” in *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, eds. Lois Green Carr, Philip Morgan, and Jean B. Russo (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1988), 1.

<sup>275</sup> Thad W. Tate, “The Seventeenth Century Chesapeake and Its Modern Historians,” in *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century, Essays on Anglo-American Society*, eds. Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1981), 3-50, discusses the historiography of this region and the “Chesapeake school.”

<sup>276</sup> For Morgan’s own description of his intellectual evolution, see <http://hnn.us/roundup/entries/24049.html>, accessed September 17, 2008. Ironically, Morgan had studied under Perry Miller at Harvard.

an influential article and then a monograph: *American Slavery, American Freedom*.<sup>277</sup> Both radically re-centered the colonial American story by placing slavery at the very core of the early history of the United States, particularly the colonial era. Morgan, in effect, replaced the “New England as America writ large” interpretation with “a vision of America as Virginia writ large.”<sup>278</sup> Morgan provocatively asked, “How Virginian was America? Is America still colonial Virginia writ large?”<sup>279</sup> After Morgan, the interpretation offered by Belknap, Bancroft, and their followers was in tatters. Yet as David Hall observed in an historiographic review, within the history of New England, Puritanism still commanded center stage.<sup>280</sup> Subsequent scholarship has largely continued this trend, ignoring the voyage of the *Desire*, the *Body of Liberties* and the centrality of the West Indies in crafting a history of the region.<sup>281</sup>

To sum up, three interlocking factors explain how and why these issues remained hidden and overlooked for so long. First, the historiography of New England has long focused on the religious dimensions of the region, rather than economic ones. Second, the ideological project emerging in the post-Revolutionary era stressed the story of New England as one of freedom and civilization over British “slavery” and Indian “savagery” and so the foundational linkages to Indian and African slavery epitomized by the voyage of the *Desire* and the legalization of slavery in the *Body of Liberties* were consciously omitted by “cultural nationalists” like Jeremy

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<sup>277</sup> Edmund S. Morgan, “Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 59, No. 1, (June 1972), 5-29, which was originally Morgan’s Presidential Address given at the Organization of American Historians national convention that year in Washington, D.C., and became the central focus of his now classic text: *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1975).

<sup>278</sup> Philip Morgan, “Rethinking Early American Slavery,” 244-245.

<sup>279</sup> Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 386-387.

<sup>280</sup> David D. Hall, “On Common Ground: The Coherence of American Puritan Studies,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol.44, No.2 (April 1987), 193-228.

<sup>281</sup> Selected examples of this tendency include Jack Greene’s synthetic survey of New England in *Pursuits of Happiness*, 55-80; Francis J. Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, passim – which ignores these facts and Joseph A. Conforti, *Saints and Strangers*, which noted one aspect of the trade: from New England to the West Indies, pages 80-81, but not the impact in New England as outlined in the previous six chapters of this dissertation, though he should receive some credit for at least mentioning the Body of Liberties.

Belknap. The myth of New England that was created lasted a very long time, despite the presence of a dissenting tradition which emerged after the Civil War. Not until the Civil Rights movement and the parallel recognition of the importance of slavery in American history was New England's position as "America writ large" de-centered and replaced with the Chesapeake. However, the mythology of the Puritans (and the Pilgrims) continues to cast a long shadow and generate prodigious scholarship on the religious issues.<sup>282</sup>

The mythology can only be understood in relation to the historical trajectory of seventeenth century New England, when a powerful racial ideology born of the "old world" evolved in the "new" one and provided the justification for enslaving Pequot Indians and exchanging them for African slaves. With an economy teetering on the brink of ruin, the sugar revolution in the West Indies offered New Englanders a powerful export market for their products. A link was forged between the two regions that lasted and intensified throughout the colonial era, as previous chapters have illuminated. Acknowledging this reality and the implications for how this frames our understanding of New England's colonial history calls for a radical re-thinking of the narrative of the region. Instead of the mythology of the Mayflower Compact we must understand and historicize the *Desire* "contract" in which New Englanders easily commodified the "other" and enthusiastically supported the West Indian plantation complex.

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<sup>282</sup> For example, see a recent issue of the flagship journal for historians, the *American Historical Review*, which led with yet another article about Puritanism. See Richard J. Ross, "Puritan Godly Discipline in Comparative Perspective: Legal Pluralism and the Sources of 'Intensity,'" *American Historical Review* (October 2008), 975-1002.



## 9.0 CONCLUSION: ASSESSING THE LINKS IN THE VAST CHAIN

*“But is it not Notorious to the whole World, that the Business of Planting in our British Colonies, as well as the French, is carried on by the Labour of Negroes, imported thither from Africa? Are we not indebted to those valuable People, the Africans, for our Sugars, Tobaccos, Rice, Rum, and all other Plantation Produce?”<sup>1</sup>-Malachy Postlethwayt*

The words above written by Malachy Postlethwayt seem quite appropriate when considering the immense importance that African labor power employed in the West Indies, and the American South, had in generating the wealth and economic development of colonial New Englanders. From merchants to sawmill owners, loggers to fishermen, cattle drivers to candle-makers, distillers to dairymaids, an astonishingly wide array of individuals across New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were integrated into the heart of the plantation complex. As the previous chapters on trading patterns have demonstrated, despite some variations, the West Indian region was the most important export area for New Englanders. They supplied key elements of the plantation infrastructure which, in turn, allowed them to make payments against their large debts to English creditors, continue to finance their imports, and, for free whites, achieve an unusually high standard of living for this era. For the owners, operators,

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<sup>1</sup> Malachy Postlethwayt, *The African Trade, the Great Pillar and Support of the British Plantation Trade in America* (London 1745), 6.

and overseers of the plantations, New England supplies were vital in keeping the system running and profitable.

The previous chapter explored the major intellectual, ideological and historical forces which have worked against historians, and the wider public, from seeing slavery as central to the colonial history of New England. By taking an Atlantic approach, and examining the circulation of commodities and who produced them and for what purpose, the full extent of New Englanders' participation in the creation of the Atlantic slave economy has now become even clearer. This dissertation thus presents an earlier and larger foundation for the cooperation between New Englanders and plantation slave masters which is presently framed as one which emerged in the post-cotton-gin 1790s. That approach begins the story in 1793 with the establishment of the first cotton mills in Pawtucket, Rhode Island and the subsequent rise during the antebellum years of these mills that boomed in every New England state. Yet even as these new links stretching from New England to the new cotton south were forged, New Englanders continued to trade with the West Indies. Though disrupted during the War of American Independence,<sup>2</sup> and barred from direct trade with the British West Indies in 1783, New Englanders evaded the laws, just as they had during the colonial era, and continued to make sail for the islands anyway.

After achieving independence, New Englanders continued to recognize the importance of the plantation complex for their own economic livelihoods. As John Adams remarked in 1783, "the commerce of the West India islands is a part of the American system of commerce. They

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<sup>2</sup> Richard B. Sheridan, "The Crisis of Slave Subsistence in the British West Indies during and after the American Revolution," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, Vol.33, No.4 (October 1976), 615-641. As the title indicates, Sheridan chronicles the impact on slave lives due to the wartime disruption: one of starvation, suffering and death. Selwyn H.H. Carrington, "The American Revolution and the British West Indies' Economy," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Volume XVII: 4 (Spring 1987), 823-850, also examines the impact on slaves in his wider analysis of trade patterns during the Revolution.

can neither do without us, nor we without them.”<sup>3</sup> Still, the British officially closed off the islands from 1783 until 1793, when war with France convinced English leaders that they could not rely on their own shipping to sustain the plantations.<sup>4</sup> In the interim, smuggling persisted, as John Adams had predicted they would, often through the use of false papers and entrances via French and Dutch West Indian ports.<sup>5</sup> Of course, direct exports to the French West Indies in particular continued to command New Englanders’ attention, as they had in the colonial era.<sup>6</sup>

In another continuity from the colonial era, Rhode Islanders continued to provide enslaved Africans to work in the West Indian plantation complex. Stephen Hopkins’ “first wheel” kept turning. Between 1776 and 1808, 423 slaving voyages were made from Rhode Island ports: Newport, Providence, Bristol, and Warren, to Africa.<sup>7</sup> These ships transported 47,477 slaves to the Americas, with about 60% bound for ports in the greater Caribbean – a

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<sup>3</sup> John Adams to Secretary Livingston, Paris, June 23, 1783, in *The Works of John Adams*, Volume VIII (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1853), 74. In a separate letter Adams wrote: “The commerce of the West India islands falls necessarily into the natural system of the commerce of the United States. We are necessary to them, and they to us; and there will be a commerce between us. If the governments forbid it, it will be carried on clandestinely.” John Adams to Secretary Livingston, Paris, July 3, 1783. Ibid, 79. Adams stressed in this same letter that “The West India commerce now gives us most anxiety” since it was so vital, and likely to be prohibited.

<sup>4</sup> Charles W. Toth, “Anglo-American Diplomacy and the British West Indies (1783-1789),” *The Americas*, Vol.32, No.3 (1976), 418-436.

<sup>5</sup> Herbert C. Bell, “British Commercial Policy in the West Indies, 1783-93,” *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 31, No. 123 (July 1916), 429-441; Alice B. Keith, “Relaxations in the British Restrictions on the American Trade with the British West Indies, 1783-1802,” *The Journal of Modern History*, Volume XX, Number 1 (March 1948), 1-18; Selwyn H.H. Carrington, “The American Revolution, British Policy and the West Indian Economy, 1775-1808,” *Revista/Review Interamericana*, Vol.22:1-2 (Autumn/Winter 1992), 72-108, especially pages 94-102.

<sup>6</sup> John H. Coatsworth, “American Trade with European Colonies in the Caribbean and South America, 1790-1812,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, Vol.24, (April 1967), 243-266. Regrettably, because of the absence of Customs Records before 1790, “for the most part there is a lack of sufficient statistical evidence with which to obtain a reasonably sound overall view of overseas trade and shipping from 1775-1790,” thus making the sort of colony or port-specific type of analysis such as this dissertation offers impossible. See James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, “Economic Change after the American Revolution: Pre- and Post-War Comparisons of Maritime Shipping and Trade,” *Explorations in Economic History*, Volume 13 (1976), 397-422. The quote is on page 397. Shepherd and Walton did not provide any specific breakdown by State and Export region, which prevented any direct comparisons of the pre and post American Revolution New England-West Indian trade data.

<sup>7</sup> Figures and ports based on *TSTD*.

slight decrease from the colonial period.<sup>8</sup> Yet there were three major differences, as Jay Coughtry emphasized. The first was one of intensity – the “wheel” turned ever faster than it had during the colonial period.<sup>9</sup> The second was the primary destination within the Caribbean: from the British islands to Spanish Cuba, where willing buyers purchased 85% of all the slaves sold by Rhode Island slave captains in the region.<sup>10</sup> The third was that the trade was now “a statewide phenomenon” including operations from major and minor ports in the state, and was no longer exclusively based in Newport.<sup>11</sup>

Yet during the colonial era, as chapter one detailed, the importance of the slave trade for Rhode Islanders was inexorably linked to the West Indies – the primary destination of slavers. The monetary value of the slave trade was immense, yet the “first wheel of commerce” was followed by a second - direct trade with the West Indies, and a third – the re-export of West Indian goods, and a fourth – the shipbuilding industry, which furnished the vessels to move slaves, the products of their labor, and other commodities used to facilitate more purchases of slaves, to continue the process. W.E.B. DuBois aptly described this pattern of trade: “a perfect circle.”<sup>12</sup> DuBois’ circle, like Hopkins’ wheel, conveys a powerful component of New Englanders’ involvement, and investment, in slavery.

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<sup>8</sup> During the colonial era, about two-thirds of slaves were sold in the West Indies. Here, Coughtry’s work is invaluable since, unlike the figures used in the *TSTD*, he investigated the movement of slaves from the islands to the mainland colonies. Coughtry, *Notorious Triangle*, 33.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 33. During the colonial era, roughly seventy five years of slaving voyages between 1700 and 1775, Rhode Islanders purchased 61,450 slaves in West Africa, of whom 51,883 survived the horrors of the middle passage enough to be sold. Figures based on *TSTD*.

<sup>10</sup> According to the *TSTD*, 16,036 out of a total of 18,903 of all known slave s sold in the Caribbean were in Havana, Cuba.

<sup>11</sup> Coughtry, *Notorious Triangle*, 37. Coughtry provided data for slave voyages between 1776 and 1808 as follows: from Newport, 159 voyages, constituting 39.6% of the total; from Bristol, 159 voyages, constituting 39.6%; from Providence, 55 voyages, constituting 13.7% and from Warren 24 voyages, constituting 6%.

<sup>12</sup> W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (New York: Longmans, Greene, and Company, 1904), 28.

That investment has been measured in the preceding chapters by colony, but now we can sum up the impact upon the region. Between 1768 and 1772, some 13,914 voyages were made from New England to Atlantic ports. Of these, 5,007 were to the West Indies, accounting for 36% of the total. During these same years clearing ship tonnage totaled 606,702 tons and more than 41%, 252,480 tons in all, were bound for the West Indies. The total value of all cargoes exported for Atlantic destinations was £4,426,388. Exports for the plantation complex in the West Indies accounted for £1,649,138, more than 37%. However, when the value of re-exported West Indian commodities in the coastal trade is added – £879,646 – then the overall percentage of exports directly linked to the plantation complex rises to 57%. To this the African trade, worth £88,641, must be added and doing so yields a new figure of overall export value based on the West Indian trade to £2,617,425, which accounts for 59% of the total value.<sup>13</sup> A full regional accounting must assess all three interrelated trades.

The preceding chapters demonstrated that the overall importance of the plantation complex reached across a broad spectrum of colonial New England. From Connecticut came livestock to power it, either horses or cattle to keep the “ingenio” running and to transport back to the waiting ships off every island barrels filled with sugar, molasses, and rum. Much of the wood for those barrels originated in the forests of New Hampshire or Maine, from whence it was hewed into the primary container of the plantation complex. As the slave labor force received their weekly food rations they were greeted by the smell of refuse cod fish arriving via ships from Salem and Marblehead. Boston ships brought goods from all these other colonies, from wood to fish, whale oil to spermaceti candles, the latter serving to keep the plantation complex running at night during the crucial harvest season. Thousands of ships, crewed by several

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<sup>13</sup> This figure does not include the substantial slave trade of Rhode Island in the West Indies, but only direct exports to Africa. Adding this component, worth £364,162, would raise the above figures even more.

thousand “seafaring men”- and all from New England. A vast shipbuilding industry arose to service the demands of those servicing the plantation complex. Mills hummed sawing timber, loggers’ axes hacked away, and tree after tree disappeared – becoming sloops, brigs, schooners, maritime ships of every kind needed to bring New England cargoes down to the islands. On their return voyages came the fruits of slave labor: sugar, molasses, and rum. These primary goods were supplemented with others: cotton, logwood, pimento, and salt, all were loaded on ship after ship hailing from Portsmouth, Providence, New London, Salem, and Boston. New Englanders carried these up and down the British American mainland, and so the essence of the coastal trade, was also bound to the plantation complex. In short, colonial New England was built on slavery.

## APPENDIX A

### PRICE DATA: SOURCE AND METHODOLOGIES

Because so much of the work in chapter two relies on challenging existing quantitative values concerning exports, a few words on my methodology and sources seem appropriate. First, I have tried to use every commodity listed in the “Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772,” in calculating new total values.<sup>14</sup> In many cases this has been achieved but a few small gaps remain. However, I am confident that because my work included the vast majority of all items in both the coastal and West Indian trades, the overall conclusions detailed in this chapter will remain largely intact.

I calculated values cautiously and conservatively, not rounding up unless the fraction was .75 or higher. In addition, items for which I could not locate prices were omitted. Finally, the prices for items used in my tables were often well below those quoted in letters from captains, merchants, and other individuals who reported their sales in the West Indies. For example, Benjamin Wright reported selling Rhode Island staves in Jamaica in 1768 for £9 per 1000.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Customs Ledger of Imports and Exports, British North America, 1768-1772, CUST 16/1, PRO, TNA, London, UK.

<sup>15</sup> Benjamin Wright to Aaron Lopez, January, 1968 in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Seventh Series, Volume IX: Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800, Volume I: 1726-1774* (Norwood, Massachusetts:

Captain William Minturn reported an even higher price of £10 in 1770 in Barbados.<sup>16</sup> I used the price of 50 shillings per 1000 instead, the price listed in the *Providence Gazette* newspaper. I have often used commodity prices recently provided by John McCusker, such as £.059 per gallon of whale oil.<sup>17</sup>

The price data used in my tables is drawn primarily from the material compiled from the *Providence Gazette*, the letters of Rhode Island merchants and captains in the West Indies, and the printed prices provided by John McCusker, James Shepherd and Samuel Williamson.<sup>18</sup> In many cases, letters from ship captains and others from the West Indies list sale prices for goods that were much higher than what was printed in the *Providence Gazette* or provided by previous scholarship from McCusker, Shepherd and Williamson. Since these new prices I employed originated from actual transactions involving Rhode Islanders, one might be tempted to use these higher prices and further enlarge the trade value. I have decided that such a course of action is vulnerable to attacks about “inflating the prices” and have instead sought to use lower market prices utilized by McCusker, Shepherd and Williamson in their work for most items, with several notable exceptions.

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Massachusetts Historical Society, 1914), 217. This is merely one representative example available out of many. The specific issue of horse prices is discussed in Chapter Three on Connecticut.

<sup>16</sup> Captain William Minturn to Aaron Lopez, March 2, 1770, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Seventh Series, Volume IX: Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800, Volume I: 1726-1774* (Norwood, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Historical Society: 1914), 312.

<sup>17</sup> John McCusker, “Colonial Statistics,” in *Historical Statistics of the United States: Millennial Edition Volume 5*, ed by Susan B. Carter, et.al, (Cambridge University Press, New York 2006), 5-732.

<sup>18</sup> *Providence Gazette* (February 18, 1769 - September 26, 1772), a summary is provided in Appendix A.1 following this section; *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Seventh Series, Volume IX: Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800, Volume I: 1726-1774* (Norwood, Massachusetts 1914); John McCusker, “Colonial Statistics,” in *Historical Statistics of the United States: Millennial Edition Volume 5*, ed by Susan B. Carter, et.al, (Cambridge University Press, New York 2006), especially pages 5-732 and 5-733; James F. Shepherd and Samuel H. Williamson, “The Coastal Trade of the British North American Colonies: 1768-1772,” *The Journal of Economic History* (December 1972), 788-793.



The first is horse prices, which were considerably higher than present estimates suggest, a point discussed in the next chapter on Connecticut. The second are the commodity prices listed in the *Providence Gazette* because these are local prices in the colony and, unlike those used by McCusker, Shepherd, and Williamson, are not transferred prices from one place or region to another where local market conditions often produced rather different prices.<sup>19</sup> Still, I have relied on the careful and painstaking work of McCusker, Shepherd, and Williamson throughout my recalculation attempts and their work provides innumerable insights – both qualitatively and quantitatively.

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<sup>19</sup> For example, with the horse price used by Shepherd or the even lower price offered by McCusker.

**A.1 PROVIDENCE GAZETTE PRICE SERIES – SAMPLE LISTING**

	<b>5-26-1770</b>
<b>By the Bushel</b>	
Wheat	5s
Rye	3s 9d
Indian Corn	3s
Flaxseed	3s
Salt	2s 8d
Potatoes	1s 3d
Oats	1s 6d
<b>By the Hundredweight</b>	
Flour	16s 6d
Ship Bread	16s 6d
Muscavado Sugar	36 - 50s
<b>Per Gallon</b>	
West India Rum - by the Hogshead	3s
New England Rum - by the Hogshead	1s 9.5d
Molasses	1s 6d
Linseed Oil by the Barrel	4s
<b>By the Cord</b>	
Walnut Wood	12s
Oak Wood	10s 6d
<b>By the Barrel</b>	
Beef	38s
Pork	66s
Cyder	7s 6d
Tar	12s
Pitch	16s

Turpentine	14s
Soft Soap	15s
	<b>5-26-1770</b>
<b>By the Pound</b>	
Bohea Tea	4s 6d
Coffee	1s 4d
Chocolate	1s 6d
Butter	7.5 - 9d
<b>By the Pound</b>	
Hogs Lard	6d
Bayberry Wax	9d
Tallow	5.5d
<b>By the Box</b>	
Spermaceti Candles (price per pound)	1s 9d
Bayberry Candles	NL
Tallow Candles	7.25d
Soap	5.5d
<b>By the Thousand</b>	
Staves - Red Oak Hogshead	42s
Staves - W. Oak Hogshead	70s
Staves - W. Oak Barrel	48s
Hogshead Hoops	54s
<b>By the Hundred Foot</b>	
1 inch Oak Boards	3s 6d
1 1/4 inch W. Oak Square Edged Boards	4s 6d - 5s
1 inch Yellow Pine Square Edged Boards	5s 3d
White Oak 2 Inch Plank	10s 6d

## APPENDIX B

### METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES FOR TRADE DATA

Chapter seven draws on three sets of primary source trade data: the Inspector General's Custom Reports from January 5, 1768 through January 5, 1773, the Piscataqua Port Records, which only reported vessels *leaving* Portsmouth (or the Piscataqua River – where Portsmouth was located) New Hampshire, and their cargos from July 31, 1770 to September 7, 1775, and the Customs Reports printed in the *New Hampshire Gazette* from January 5, 1770 to December 26, 1775.<sup>1</sup> The newspaper usually, but not always, printed a weekly summary of the ships entering and leaving the port, along with the ship's name, type, and captain followed by the destination or, in the case of entrances, the place of origin. For the years 1768 through 1772 all the trade data presented is drawn solely from the Inspector General Reports, since they provide the most comprehensive and detailed coverage of vessels entering and leaving New Hampshire. For the years 1773, 1774 and 1775, I have combined data from the *New Hampshire Gazette* and the Piscataqua Port Records since each compliment shortages found in the other, as the discussion below indicates.

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<sup>1</sup> The newspaper reports were often, but not always printed, as I'll discuss shortly. I've also utilized the pioneering work of James Shepherd in providing baseline trade data – though I've sought to use my own research findings as much as possible, by returning to the Inspector General's Reports.

The Piscataqua Port Records are rather unique. Located in the Portsmouth Athenaeum, in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, they begin recording ships leaving the Port of Piscataqua starting with the *Virgin* on July 31, 1770 but the reason for starting with this ship on this date is unclear. More problematic, they overwhelmingly record ships headed to the West Indies but omit nearly every other port – either colonial or overseas.<sup>2</sup> Thus, even though ships did leave for London, Philadelphia, and Boston, as shown in both the Inspector General's Reports and the *New Hampshire Gazette*, they are not recorded. John McCusker, the foremost authority on customs records and their history, informs me that it was not unusual for ships to leave ports unrecorded though he admits the peculiar nature of emphasizing the West Indies and ignoring any mainland American ports is rather strange and seemingly unique to the Portsmouth Port Records.<sup>3</sup>

Since Table 7-3 covers seven years I will briefly discuss how all three primary sources were to construct the findings. For the years 1768 through 1772 I totaled the ships listed in the Inspector General's Reports and assumed they were correct. Then, for the years 1773 and 1774, I relied on the ships listed in the customs record printed in the *New Hampshire Gazette*. I may need to revise this technique for these two years however, based on my results on comparing the newspaper's accounts with that of the Portsmouth Port Records for 1775 which were actually more accurate than the newspaper, which actually undercounted the total number of ships leaving the port for that year. This assumes that the Portsmouth port records are more accurate than the newspaper accounts, which seems reasonable since the customs officer and/or his clerk would have entered the data into the Port Record ledger as opposed to the newspaper listing. Nevertheless, when comparing the two sources for 1775 the majority of ships appeared in both

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<sup>2</sup> It does record some thirty ships heading to ports in Southern Europe between 1770 and 1775 plus six voyages to Africa, but none to England or any other American ports.

<sup>3</sup> John McCusker, personnel communication.

records but some ships actually appeared in one source but not the other and I have added these to the overall total for 1775. In addition, for the year 1775, the Portsmouth Port Records list ships leaving Piscataqua until September 7, 1775, while the *New Hampshire Gazette*'s last Custom Report was May 26, 1775. For reasons that remain unclear the newspaper stopped printing Customs Reports despite the continuing presence of vessels entering and leaving the port as recorded in the Portsmouth Port Records. Thus, the total number provided for the year 1775 reflects the combination of ships listed in both sources.

## APPENDIX C

### ITEMS AND VALUES IMPORTED FROM THE WEST INDIES TO NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1768-1772

In his original estimates James Shepherd provided commodity import totals and pricing data for seven items: coffee, cotton, molasses, rum, salt, sugar (muscavado), and wine.<sup>1</sup> However, there were several additional items that Shepherd did not include, likely for the absence of pricing data – which has remained a challenge. However, I have utilized new price sources and estimated values for two additional commodities: slaves<sup>2</sup> and cocoa.<sup>3</sup> For slaves, I estimated that each slave was worth approximately 30 pounds. Sixteen total slaves were imported into New Hampshire from the West Indies; twelve in 1768 and then four more in 1772. Thus, the total

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<sup>1</sup> James F. Shepherd, *Commodity Imports Into the British North American Colonies From Southern Europe and the West Indies, 1768-1772*, Institute for Research in the Behavioral, Economic and Management Sciences, Paper No. 270 – February 1970, (Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana), Table 2, page 10 for the commodities and total values as presented in British Pound Sterling, and Table A-1, page 4, for the individual prices.

<sup>2</sup> The slave price I used, 30 pounds, is derived from the letters of Rhode Island merchants involved in the slave trade. While these letters involve prices in Barbados, and not New Hampshire directly, they provide some indication of the general pricing placed on enslaved human beings at this time. However, these letters indicate a higher price, around 35 or 36 pounds. To err on the conservative side I have deducted five pounds due to the historiographic claims that slaves sold in New England generally were cheaper, since they represented cargo that was refused or re-exported from the West Indies. Thus, in theory, slave prices and values should be “cheaper” in my charts. For the Rhode Island correspondence, see Stevenson and West to Christopher and George Champlin, January 7, 1773 and Samuel Tuell to Christopher and George Champlin, February 22, 1773, both in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Seventh Series, Volume IX, “Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800: Volume 1, 1726-1774* (Boston, 1914), 425, 429.

<sup>3</sup> The cocoa price is derived from the price listed in the *Providence Gazette* newspaper. See chapter one, Price Appendix, for more details.

value was £480. For cocoa, I used the price found in the *Providence Gazette* of 1s, 6p per pound.

The 199,631 lbs, after conversion into British Pound Sterling, were worth £14,660.



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